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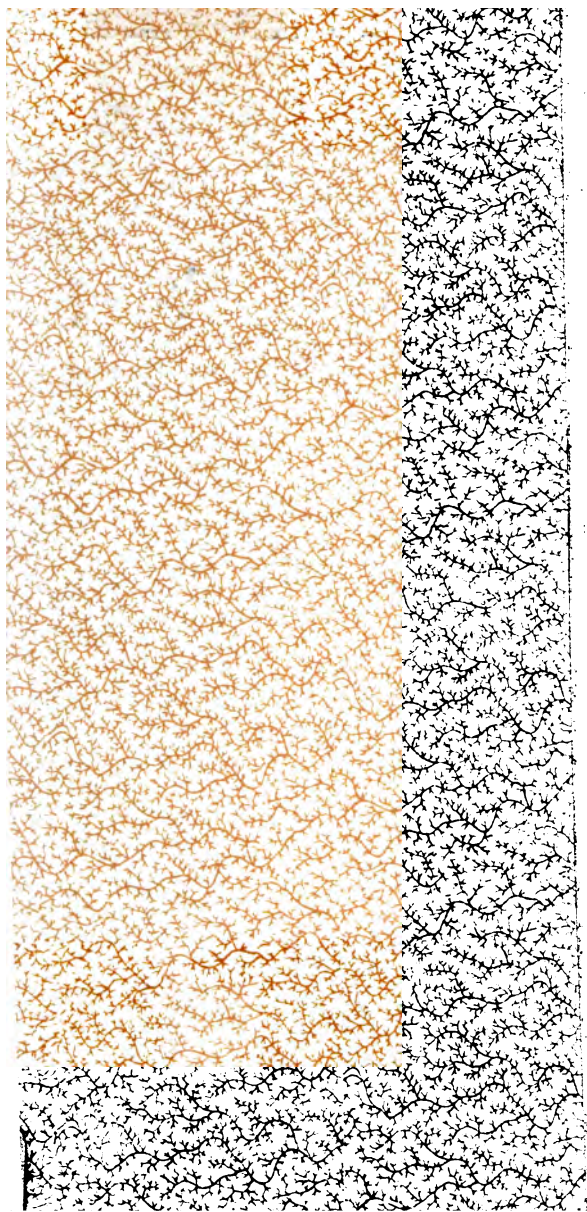
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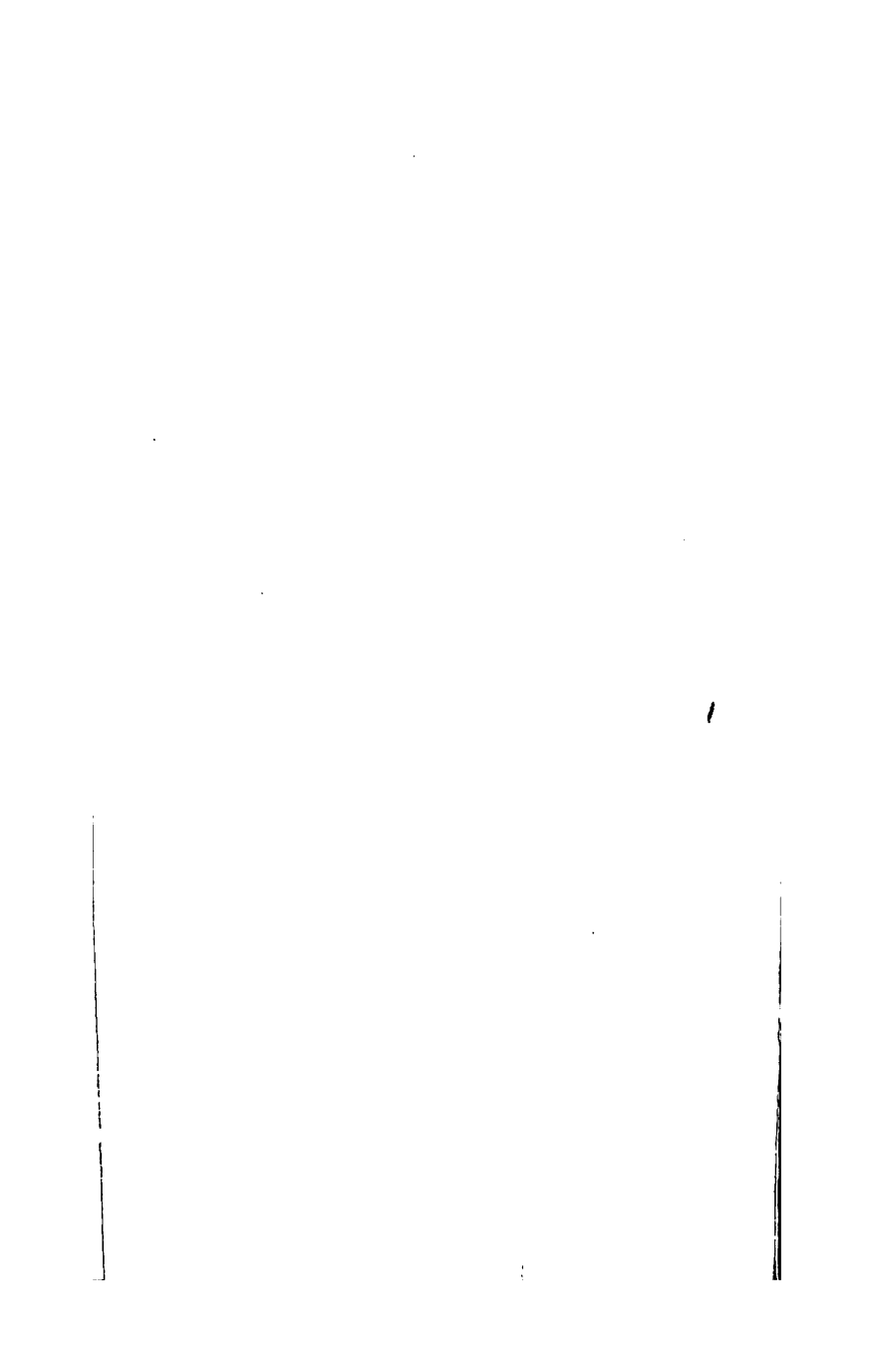
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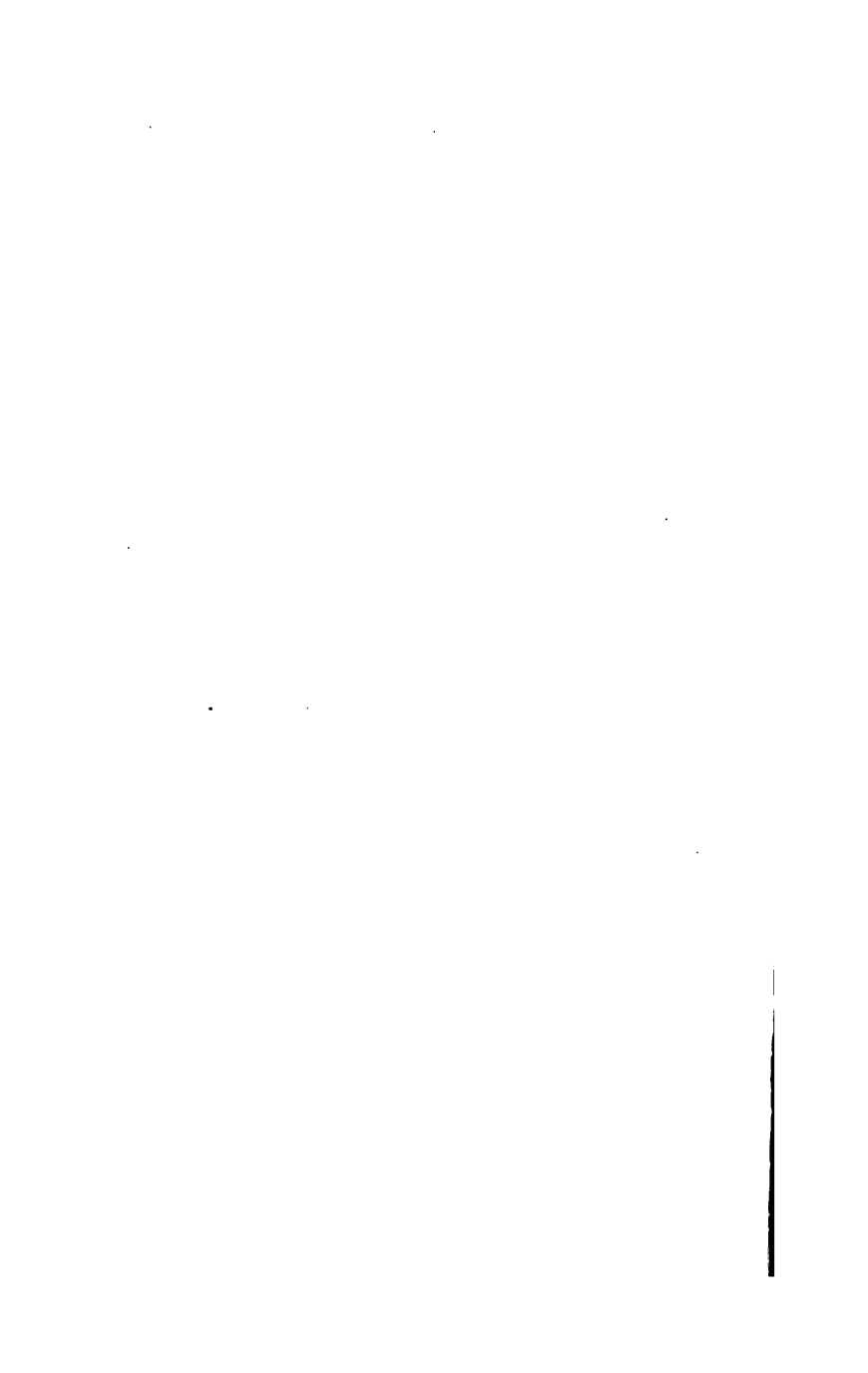
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(Pillays)







Pillars
ZPG





THE
PILLARS
OF
PRIESTCRAFT
AND
ORTHODOXY
SHAKEN.

As for the rending of the church, we have many reasons to think it is not that which ye labour to prevent, so much as the rending of your pontifical sleeves: That schism would be the worst schism to you.

MILTON.

Neither can religion receive any wound by disgrace thrown upon the prelates, since religion and they surely were never in such amity. They rather are the men who have wounded religion, and their stripes must heal her.

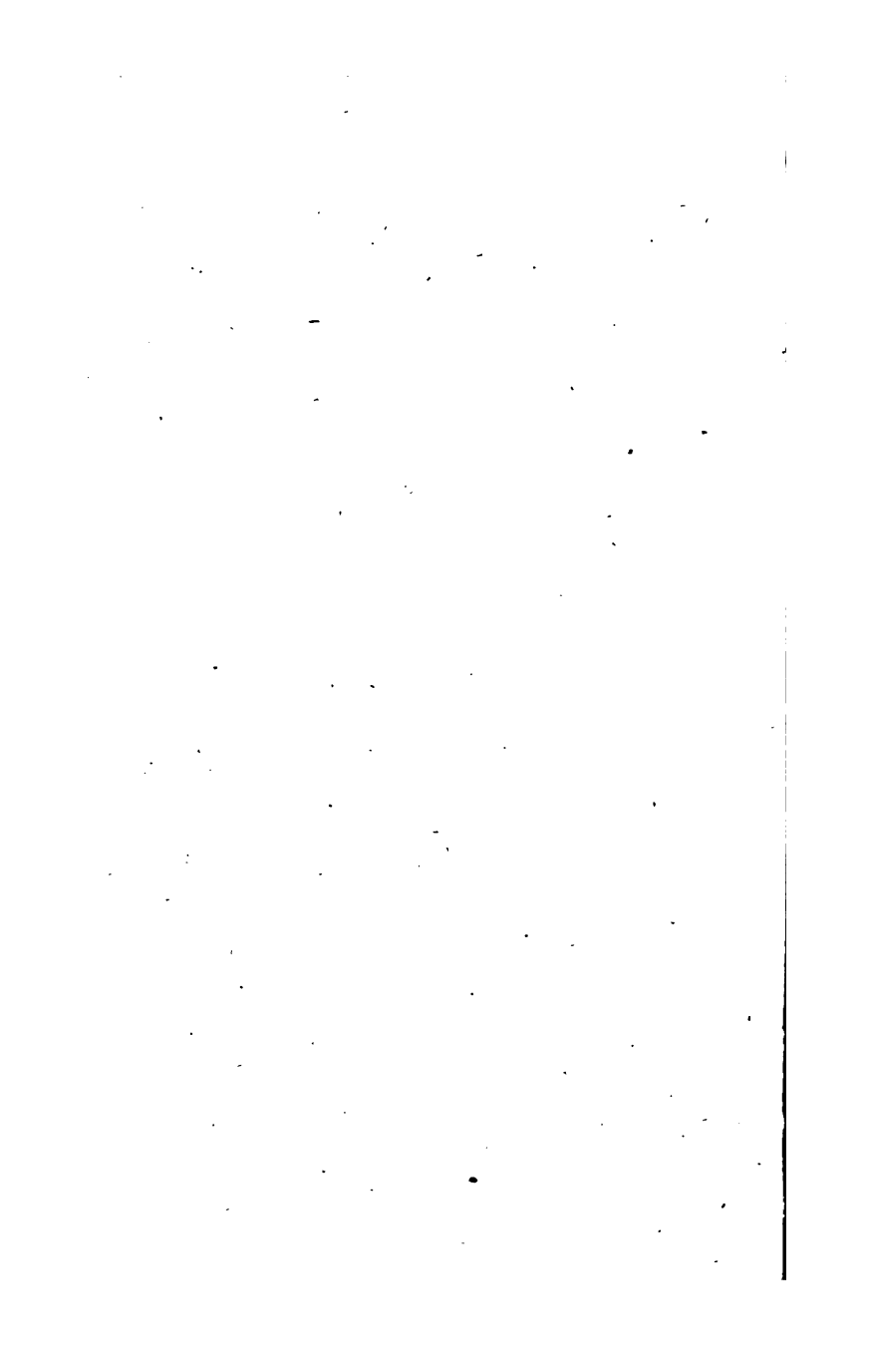
IDEM.

V O L. III.

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MDCCLXVIII.



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A
L E T T E R

TO THE

Reverend Dr. SNARE;

Wherein the

A U T H O R I T Y

O F T H E

Christian Priesthood

I S M A I N T A I N ' D ;

The UNINTERRUPTED SUCCESSION of BISHOPS from the Apostles Days is lineally deduced; and the Cavils of HERETICS and FANATICS are answered.

By a CURATE of WILTSHIRE.

From the THIRD EDITION.

First Printed in the Year 1718.



ROY WAIN
JULIAN
WAGGELL

(7)
A
L E T T E R
TO THE

Reverend Dr. SNAPE,* &c.

Reverend SIR,

SINCE writing letters in print to a friend, is so much in fashion, I hope I shall not incur your displeasure, if I run in with the herd of those, who, following your footsteps, have with the utmost familiarity address'd themselves to their superiors: and, though but a country curate, presume to apply myself to you, who are at present one of the most renowned champions of our *distress'd church*, which has been so violently attack'd of late, by *men* whose *interest* as well as profession should have led them to defend *her*.

* These two letters to Dr. *Snape* have been generally ascribed to Bishop *Fleetwood*: and the late Dr. *Birch*, a good judge in these matters, told me that he always understood Bishop *Fleetwood* to have been the author; but that Dr. *Herring's* timidity made him omit them in the collection of the Bishop's works.

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We all see how she has been torn and mangled of late, how her power hath been question'd, her honour debased, and her true grandeur vilify'd; and all this hath been done, only to make way for *carnal reason* and *bare religion*; as if power, honour and riches were no essential part of our church.

~~It is true; reason and religion~~ are very good things, when locked up amongst the *Alcans* of a church; but when they come to be once prostituted to the hands of the *vulgar*, they are the most dangerous instruments of its ruin. Then will the *sheep* begin to judge of their *shepherds* sermons, and calling loudly for their *bibles*, pretend to be their own interpreters; and this detestable licence shall be commended under the specious name of *christian liberty*. Our great adversary the bishop of *Bangor*, hoping to get all the *fanatics* on his side, and thereby more effectually accomplish his pernicious designs against us, has trump'd-up this doctrine of *searching the scripture, and submitting our conscience to no man's direction*. To support which *heresy*, he tells us, 'that no set
' of men (not even the clergy whom we very
' justly call the church) have any authority to
' direct the consciences of men; that Christ is
' king in his own kingdom, and that no power
' on earth can add by-laws to the laws of
' Christ;

‘ Christ; and that to add sanctions, rewards,
 ‘ or punishments to his laws, is to dethrone
 ‘ Christ; that *we* priests are not by *divine right*,
 ‘ but only a laudable *humane* institution; and
 ‘ that our claim to our *sacerdotal powers* by
 ‘ an *uninterrupted succession* from the apostles,
 ‘ is a chimera; that our excommunications are
 ‘ idle terrors of men; and that the laity may
 ‘ go to heaven without our intervention,
 ‘ without *benefit of clergy*.’ If this be not
 wrestling out of our hands the very leading-
 strings of the laity, and at once destroying the
 power of the clergy, if this be not making the
church of Christ a *Babel*, and his kingdom a
 realm of confusion, I know not what is.
 Thus does a governor of our *church* shew
 himself less zealous for her, than the silver-
 smiths at *Ephesus* were for their *Diana*; whilst
 they cry, *Great is the goddess of the Ephesians*,
 he cries, *Small is the power of the church of*
England. However since your great *self* are
 pleased to enter the lists against him, since
 you have been follow’d by such an able second
 as the dean of *Chichester*, and since Mr. *Law*
 has laid down his plan of *church power*, to the
 utter confusion of the new heresy; I shall not
 fear to throw in some few of my answers
 to the bishop’s arguments; which I will ven-
 ture to say no one has handled with more
 freedom, nor declared themselves against with

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more sincerity, nor has any one spoke out the sentiments of the orthodox priesthood with more christian zeal,

First then, the bishop affirms, *that our church has not any power to add by-laws to the laws of Christ.* I would fain know whether he doth not allow, that any little *body politic* hath a power to make *by-laws* for their own honour, profit or safety; if so, shall not our *church* or *clergy*, a *body* the most *politic* in the world, be permitted to have a poor privilege, which is not deny'd to the pettiest borrough, or to the meanest corporation? That our bishops, deans, archdeacons, and the rest of our brethren, whose revenues exceed those of all the *bodies corporate* in *England*, should not be admitted to an equality with any other sett of prophane laymen, who are stiled, *mayor, aldermen and common-council*, seems to me not only blasphemous, but even ridiculous to affirm. Oh! poor *church*, to what low ebb art thou reduced?

In the second place, the bishop affirms, *that to add sanctions of this world to the laws of Christ, is to act against Christ, for his kingdom is not of this world.* I must ask the bishop another question here, and that is, Whether in the time of Christ and his apostles, men were not afflicted, for their want of faith, and for their

their sins, by corporal and temporal punishments from heaven, such as *blindness, lameness, palsy, &c?* I think, from our Saviour's common phrase in curing these infirmities, *thy sins are forgiven thee*, that it plainly appears that these were temporal punishments for sin: and yet no one can affirm that these temporal punishments were a *bar* to the eternal ones. So now in the christian dispensation, corporal punishments and temporal discouragements may be annexed to the want of faith, and to the commission of particular sins; and yet no way interfere with the eternal chastisements reserved for sinners in *another world*. And indeed, as the punishment of sin here on earth has by the greatest divines been believed to be an alleviation of it hereafter, I cannot see but that christian charity and common humanity teach us to fall heavy upon all *infidels, schismatics and heretics*, and to persecute them with the utmost rigour out of mere good nature: at least we cannot blame those of our brethren that act upon so good a principle.

Thirdly, The bishop denies, *That any sect of men can have a power over other mens consciences, or that they can interpret the laws of Christ authoritatively for any one, for no church is infallible*. In answer to this assertion, I shall deal more sincerely with the prelate than any of his antagonists have done, and own at once,

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that I think our church is *infallible*. And though at this moment you may think I say too much, yet I shall in its proper place prove that you have said the *same thing*, and then I am sure I need not fear my being in an error. To return to the thing in question. I readily agree with the bishop, that it would be nonsense in terms to say that a church that was *fallible* could act *infallibly*. Which if a *church* cannot do, she cannot pretend to impose her interpretation of Christ's laws upon others, because they may be in the right and she in the wrong. And indeed though no *church* but the *Roman* has claimed infallibility in words, yet none in the world but claims it in *fact*. To convince mankind of this truth, I defy any one to shew me an instance of a *church*, that hath acknowledged itself in an error. Did not the *synod of Dort* proceed every whit as vehemently against the *minority* (which is in other words the *heretics*) as the *council of Trent*? Indeed they had not so many *engines of this world* at their command, but they seemed to have a spirit to have set as many at work. I have known many worthy men who have believed the *infallibility* of a *general council*; nay all pious christians do entirely submit to the decrees of the four first *general councils*, as *infallible*. And why a *divine* of the *church of England*, may not allow

low the *convocation infallibility*, I know not. For my own part, I see no absurdity in allowing, that when an assembly of regularly ordained divines meet to establish a doctrinal point, there may be an infallible spirit present, directing the resolutions of the majority. Omitting all the cloud of witnesses, which I could bring from the fathers, from the councils, and from the pope's declarations, to evince this matter, I shall only mention that wise article in the decrees of the council of Trent, of which father Paul gives us an account: *That all seculars ought to receive that doctrine of faith which is given them by the church, without disputing or thinking farther about it.* And among the *Theses* propounded by the *Jesuits* to be maintained in their public hall at *Clermont*, there were these two remarkable ones.

Thesis XIX.

*Christum nos
ita caput agno-
scimus, ut illius
regimen, dum in
cæli abiit, pri-
mum Petro dein-
de successoribus
ejus commiserit,
& eandem quan-
ipse habuit infal-*

li-

Thesis XIX.

Thus we acknowledge Christ to be the head of the church, that at his departure into heaven, when he was no longer to govern his church in person, he committed the government of it to his apostle *Peter*, and then to his successors, in whom he lodged the same powers even

of

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libilitatem concesserit, quoties ex cathedra loquuntur. of infallibility, which were: vested in himself, as often as: they speak from the chair.

Thesis XX.

Thesis XX.

<i>Datur ergo in ecclesia controversiarum fidei iudex infallibilis, etiam extra concilium generale.</i>	There is therefore in the church an infallible judge of faith, even without a general council.
---	--

And now give me leave, worthy doctor, to quote a paragraph out of your * first letter to the bishop, wherein you thus acknowledge Christ to be the head of the church. *At his departure into heaven, when he was no longer to govern his church in person, he provided for the good government of it by others, whom he commissioned to bear rule and authority over his subjects, to be his vicegerents, to act in his name and stead, and to perpetuate a succession of men, thro' all the succeeding ages in the world, in whom the same powers should be lodged; and tho' he made none of them infallible, &c.*

Now tho' at first sight this may seem to be a total renouncing any title to *infallibility*, yet I shall in its proper place, shew that you mean

nothing less. This therefore may by an *incurious* reader be taken for a transcript from the *ghostly fathers* above-mentioned, but to a critical eye will appear to be a great improvement on their narrow scheme, which confines the *succession* to one *armed chair*. A poor local business! If we understand one another, this, Dr. Snape, is your meaning, That when *Christ* went to heaven, he provided for the good government of his church by others, that is, by his twelve apostles, (at the head of whom, he placed St. Peter) whom he commissioned to expound his laws, to bear rule and authority over his subjects, (even over our fellow-subjects * the fallen angels, whom they often cast forth and dispossess'd of their fashnesses) to be his vicegerents to act in his name and stead; a power which they could never have presumed to exercise, had they not for that purpose been made infallible by the Holy Ghost. However, as they were not made immortal, it was necessary for the preservation of the church, that when these apostles went to heaven themselves, they should leave others in their room to perform their functions in the church, that so there might be a perpetual succession of men, thro' all succeeding ages, in whom the same powers (of infallibility, vicegerency, and the like) were to be.

*-Snape's second letter, p. 43.

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lodged: Datur ergo infallibilis controversiarum fidei iudex. That is, we have *infallibility* somewhere, and some how or other *lodged* in our church. For what signifies an *uninterrupted succession* from the *apostles*, if their *successors* are not vested with the **SAME POWERS** which they had? But why do I call them *successors*, since they can have no right to be stiled such, unless they have the **SAME POWERS**? Will any one say that a *doge* is or can be properly said to *succeed* a *monarch*? Though he should pretend to sit on the same throne, and to put on the same dress and pageantry with the king that preceeded; yet if he does not succeed to the *legal authority and power*, a man shall as soon persuade me that *Aesop's* *beast* in the lion's skin was what he pretended to be, as that such a *doge* can continue the *succession* of a *monarchy*. So that to deny *infallibility* to our church, is at once to destroy its whole title to an *uninterrupted succession from the apostles*; it is taking away the *divine right of episcopacy*; it is diminishing or rather (I fear) abrogating all *church authority*, by founding it upon the poor *secular basis* of a decent *human institution*. This may serve to shew the danger and folly of disclaiming *infallibility*.

I confess at the end of that *paragraph*, which I already cited out of your *first letter* to the bishop.

bishop, you say that *he* (Christ) made none of *them* (the apostles successors) infallible. This the world has understood to be saying, that they had and that they had not the same powers with the apostles, in the same breath. Such expressions in the *bishop* must indeed have pass'd for gross nonsense, because that he, being unacquainted with our church-logick, could not have brought himself off. But I will undertake that, thro' the help of some nice distinctions, you shall appear very consistent, with all us true sons of the church, and which is harder yet with your own self. For it is plain, that you do not any where assert that the successors of the apostles are not infallible, but that *he* (Christ) made none of them so. Now every one knows that infallibility was the gift of the Holy Ghost, a considerable time after Christ was ascended into heaven. And since we are, none of us, *Arians*, (as many of the bishop's friends are) but do allow a distinction of persons in the Trinity, it is evident that you affirm a truth, when you say, *Christ made none of them infallible*. Thus may you see how, by a subtle distinction kept in *Petto* till a time of need, we can avoid the charge of nonsense and contradiction. A liberty never communicated to the laity; as being a right only annexed to the indelible character. And indeed, we seldom fail of making use of our *privilege*; for
when

when we write for *protestantism* we never forget to tack a *popish salvo*, and when we write for *popery*, we put in a *protestant salvo*. In which art of writing, our good friend the *dean* has discovered a most admirable talent. From what has been said, it manifestly appears, that you never really declared against *infallibility*, as the generality of readers thought you did. But, worthy doctor, your seeming *salvo*, I confess, was very prudently subjoined to your *claim of apostolical powers*, that thereby (as you * term it) our *claim* might appear the more INNOCENT. For those superficial readers, the laity, should we be so imprudent as to claim *fullness of power and infallibility* at the same time, (tho' the one does necessarily include the other) might be so alarmed and provoked, as to deny us both. No, Sir, let us but get our power once confirmed, and we shall not ask any body leave to be infallible. For we see that the power of our secret friend the *pope*, does not so much consist in his *infallibility*, as his *infallibility* is built on his *power*. Thus, Sir, tho' our *church* politics utterly forbid us to speak out, unless we are drove to a pinch; yet you yourself, as well as all other true churchmen, do know, that the *apostles* left behind them a *succession* of men vested with the

* Second letter, p. 51.

same powers with themselves, one of which we are sure was *infallibility*; and tho' we do not think it expedient to mention the word (which like *Balaam's* angel might open the mouth of our beast the laity) yet tacitly we claim no less. And therefore I cannot think the bishop has acted a fair part in bringing an argument against us which is only founded upon an opinion that we dare not speak our mind freely, and support our just claim to *authoritative power in interpreting scriptures*, by owning our *infallibility*, which that learned *prelate* knew was the only thing that could entitle us to it.

The last argument which the bishop has urged against our church's interest, which I shall take notice of; is, *that the notion of an uninterrupted succession of bishops is not to be supported from any words of scripture, and is not to be made out in history; and that 'twould be wicked to make such a nicety a thing on which our salvation should depend.* I answer to this, I was once determined to have produced * those many texts out of scripture, which you affirm that you could bring to evince the contrary: Now as I knew that you could not mean the common edition of the scriptures, I looked into an old bible in my study; which unluckily hap-

* First letter, p. 20.

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pened to be that heretical one translated by *Tindal*; in which I could not even find the word *church*, much less any account of *vicegerents* and *uninterrupted successions* in it. This plainly convinced me that he did not understand *Greek*; for had he skilled it as well as *Dr. Sherlock* and some of us do, he would never have rendered the word ἐκκλησία *congregation*, but *convocation* or *church*, nor Διδάκοντες *ministers*, but *lords* or *rulers*, nor Παῦλος δούλος τοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, *Paul the servant of Jesus Christ*, but *Paul Christ's vicegerent*: For as the dean very rightly observes Δούλος *does not always signify a servant or slave*, but may for the good of the church be translated, as his holiness's motto *Servus Servorum*, which signifies *the lord of lords*. However these gross errors of *Tindal* are amply made up by the pious and ingenious editors of the *Rhemish* testament (which I am confident is the same, which you † brag of) where we can find to our great consolation, not only the words *church*, *rulers*, *vicegerents*, and *uninterrupted successions*; but also a number of other wholesome texts, with very learned notes, as pat to our scheme of *church-government*, as if you and I had written them ourselves. Now, reverend Sir,

† Second letter, p. 42.

since

Since this bible seems in a peculiar manner to belong to you ; being myself far your inferior, I shall not presume to look for *hats* in your *royalty*, but leave you to start those many *taxes* which you say you can find ; and I doubt not but you will play *text* against *text*, as much to your credit, as formerly you did *bishop* against *bishop*. Thus relying wholly upon your performance in *text-finding*, I shall proceed to an historical argument of no small importance to our cause.

I shall shew the bishop (notwithstanding his many insinuations to the contrary) that we have at this very hour, a most authentic list of *successors perpetuated in an uninterrupted succession down from one of the apostles* to these our days. I will be so ingenuous as to confess that if any man can overthrow the credit of the LIST, which I here present my reader with, that then our *succession* falls at once to the ground, this being the only *one* now extant in the *church*. I design in my *catalogue* frequently to subjoin some remarkable instance of *infallibility* in the *vicergerent* ; and shall also fairly mention every *schism*, where two or more claimed the *succession*

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cession at the same time, and mark out the man whom I prefer. Farther, reverend doctor, I can assure you that there is no one fact related here, for which I cannot cite as my authors, either *Platina*, *Barenius*, *Onuphrius*, *Concil. Constant*, *Bale*, *Agrippa*, *Wesselus*, or father *Paul*.



A
L I S T
O F
Christ's Vicegerents,

W I T H

An account of many of their acts of
infallibility for the good government
of the church.

A. D. 44. *Schism first.* St. Peter and St. Paul.

THE list of our vicegerents does unfortunately begin with a *schism*, for Paul as anti-pope did *withstand* St. Peter *to his face*. And although without question St. Peter be our man, yet was he not a *pope* after our own hearts, for he did not *bear rule*, and besides was a married man.

57. 2. *Linus.*

Historians have very much question'd whether there ever was a bishop of this name, which would make our *succession* doubtful, but that we are sure this difficulty was started by hereticks.

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A. D. 67. 3. *Cletus.*

Also called *Anacleus*; he did not live long enough in his office, to leave many marks of his infallibility behind him.

68. 4. *Clement*

Being banished to an island, where two thousand christians were hewing marble, furnish'd them with a spring of fresh water by a miracle.

84. 5. *Anacletus*

Ordered priests not to let their beards nor hair to grow.

96. 6. *Evaristus*

Ordained that priests should be honoured and shaven; and that no accusation of the laity should be receiv'd against a bishop.

109. 7. *Alexander*

Order'd that the people should be married by none but priests.

117. 8. *Sixtus I.*

Invented holy water, and order'd it to be blest with salt, and sprinkled, in order to chase away and coerce the *rebellious subjects* of Christ, the *devils*. He first brought up the use of linen surplices.

127. 9. *Telesphorus*

Enacted that no layman should presume to touch the garment of a clergyman.

and ORTHODOXY shaken.

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A. D. 138. 10. *Higinus*.

Brought in fasting in *Lent*.

142. 11. *Pius I.*

Found out *chrisfm*.

153. 12. *Anicetus*

Condemned St. *Polycarp* for his wearing long hair.

163. 13. *Concordius Soterus*

Decreed all marriages to be null without the benediction of a priest.

174. 14. *Eleutherus*

Was a great lover of sweet-breads.

186. 15. *Victor I.*

Excommunicated the *Western* churches for not keeping *Lent*, at the same time when he did.

198. 16. *Zepherinus*

Order'd that the wine at the communion should not be consecrated (as before it had been) in *wood* or *glass*, but in *gold* or *silver* : Also that no *bishop* accused by his *patriarch* or *metropolitan* should be condemned, but by the *apostolic see*.

218. 17. *Calistus*

Died of a fistula,

226. 18. *Urban I.*

Invented the form of consecrating church-yards; and ordained that lands and farms might be given to *God*, but ought to be divided among the *clergy*.

V O L. III.

B

A. D.

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A. D. 231. 19. *Calphurnius*

Order'd psalms and mattins to be sung in churches, to drive away the evil spirits that troubled poor people in their graves.

236. 20. *Anterus*

Wrote a legend.

237. 21. *Fabianus*

Order'd that *chrism* used in the Lord's supper should be renewed once a year, and the old burned.

251. 22. *Schism second, Cornelius, Novatianus*

Cornelius was certainly a true successor: for with exorcisms and holy water, he drove all the rats out of a church near *Ravenna*.

253. 23. *Lucius*

Ordained that heretics should not be re-baptized.

255. 24. *Stephanus*

Ordained that heretics should be re-baptized.

257. 25. *Sixtus II.*

Invented copes, and other vestments.

260. 26. *Dionysius*

Allotted to every minister his own church, parish and salary.

271. 27. *Felix*

Ordered masses to be sung in churches for the dead martyrs.

A. D.

and ORTHODOXY spoken. 27

A. D. 275. 28. *Eutychianus*

Ordered all fruits, and especially beans and grapes, to be consecrated upon the altar; he likewise would have martyrs buried in purple.

283. 29. *Caius*

Like an honest pope, ordered that no layman should commence a suit against a clergyman.

296. 30. *Marcellinus*

Sacrificed to *Hercules*, *Jupiter* and *Saturn*, in the temple of *Vesta*.

304. 31. *Marcellus*

Divided *Rome* into twenty parishes; was groom of the stables to *Maxentius*, in which office he dy'd.

309. 32. *Eusebius*

Ordered that no bishop should be sued.

311. 33. *Miltiades*

Ordained that no fasts should be kept on *Thursday* or *Sunday*.

314. 34. *Silvester*.

Under his administration, and by his approbation, *Anthony* the hermit set up the monastic course of life. He was the first pope that wore a crown of gold.

335. 35. *Marcus*

Ordered that the *Nicene creed* should be sung in churches.

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A. D. 337. 36. Julius I.

Censured the *Eastern* bishops for calling a council at *Antioch*, without his leave ; order'd that no clergyman should plead before a lay judge, or be sentenced by him. He was the first that confirmed the *Athanasian* creed.

355. 37. *Schism third. Liberius, Felix I.*

Liberius was by the church esteemed as the true pope : tho' he condemned the *Athanasian* creed, which his infallible predecessor had confirmed.

361. 38. *Felix II.*

Instituted plumb-porridge at *Christmas*. He ran with the *Arians*, but held with the *Athanasians*.

366. 39. *Schism fourth. Damasus, Ursin.*

Damasus was an adulterer, but *Ursin* was an heretic. So that the former must by Dr. *Snape* and me be allowed the best successor : for heresy in an infallible chair is infinitely worse than adultery.

385. 40. *Siricius*

Ordered that whosoever should marry a widow, or a second wife, should lose his benefice.

398. 41. *Anastasius*

Granted a pardon from sin for five hundred days to any, that should say a prayer of his composing, and beginning *Jesu Christi, &c.*

and ORTHODOXY spoken: 29

A. D. 402. 42. *Innocent I.*

Ordered a fast in the church every Saturday.

416. 43. *Zozinus*

Ordained the blessing of wax-tapers upon Easter-eve; and confirmed the decrees of the council of Carthage, or in other words the *Petagian heresy*.

419. *Schism fifth.* 44. *Boniface, Eulalius,*

Boniface was the true vicegerent, for he ordered that no *Roman* should touch the consecrated pall or incense; and also that no servant or debtor should be admitted amongst the clergy.

423. 45. *Celestine I.*

Was an excellent fidler.

432. 46. *Sixtus III.*

Got a nun with child.

446. 47. *Leo I.*

Invented processions on saints days, and ornaments for their tombs.

461. 48. *Hilarius*

Built almost fifty new churches, and invented the litany.

467. 49. *Simplicius*

Found, by his followers means, the bones of *Elisha*, the body of St. *Barnabas*, and the gospel of St. *Matthew*, written in his own

B 3 hand.

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hand. He also decreed that no clergyman
should hold a benefice of a layman.

A. D. 483. 50. *Felix III.*

Ordained that churches should only be con-
secrated by bishops.

492. 51. *Gelasius I.*

Excommunicated the emperor *Anastasius*,
and anathematized the king of the *Vandals*.
He regulated the canon of scripture to his
own fancy, declaring it heresy for laymen to
judge of it.

496. 52. *Anastasius II.*

Excommunicated the emperor *Anastofus*
for being an *Eutychian*, when he himself (for
being one) was afterwards forsaken by his
whole clergy. He died by voiding his bowels
in a privy-house.

498. 53. *Schism sixth. Symmachus, Lawrence,*
Peter II.

Symmachus, by the assistance of a hundred
and twenty bishops with their clergy, in arms,
got the day from his other two rivals.

514. 54. *Hormisda*

Left behind him many natural children.

523. 55. *John I.*

Was a hearty friend to the *Arians*.

526. 56. *Felix IV.*

Invented extreme unction, and for the be-
nefit of the clergy, divided the chancel from
the church,

A. D.

A. D. 530. 57. *Schism seventh. Boniface II.
Dioscorus.*

Boniface was the right pope, for he recanted his *Arian* notions in order to qualify himself for the chair. But his antagonist was a *Simoniack*.

532. 58. *John II.*

Was a great projector.

534. 59. *Agapetus*

Was a great friend to *Theodatus*, who murdered that miracle of the age, *Amalasuintha*, queen of the *Goths*.

535. 60. *Schism eighth. Silverius, Vigilius.*

Silverius was natural son to *Hermisda*, but a heretic; we shall therefore esteem *Vigilius* as our true successor to St. *Peter*, since he was only guilty of perjury; a small fault now a days in a churchman.

555. 61. *Pelagius I.*

Poisoned *Vigilius*, and decreed that the secular arm ought to be called in to suppress heretics and schismatics.

561. 62. *John III.*

Established the custom of worshipping the bones of saints.

575. 63. *Benedict I.*

Died of grief.

572. 64. *Pelagius II.*

Disputed with the bishop of *Constantinople* against the resurrection of the body.

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A. D. 590. 65. Gregory I.

Invented purgatory, the invocation of saints, illustrations on the purification of the virgin, stations and pilgrimages; caused all priests to put away their wives, but soon condemned this infallible decree, when upon draining one fish-pond, he found the heads of six thousand infants there.

604. 66. Sabinianus

Opposed all that his infallible predecessor had done; and was torn in pieces by the people of *Rome*, for keeping up a vast hoard of corn in a time of famine.

606. 67. Boniface III.

Obtained the title of *Universal Bishop* from the usurper *Phocas*, upon his approving and confirming his title. He began to use the modest phrase of *Volumus et Subimus*.

606. 68. Boniface IV.

Joined with *Phocas* as his predecessor had done, and thereby obtained great privileges for the church. With these two *Bonifaces* properly began the *papal primacy*.

612. 69. Diadatus

Made a law that no woman should marry a man, whose father had been her godfather, as being too near of kin.

616. 70. Boniface V.

Made the church an asylum for the greatest villanies, by privileging all thieves, murderers,

&c.

etc. that should take sanctuary in any church or chapel.

A. D. 622. 71. *Honorius I.*

Was a *Monothelite Heretic*, and stands condemned as such by pope *Agatho*, by the sixth, seventh and eighth general councils, and as such was excommunicated by *Leo II.*

637. 72. *Severinus*

Was a pious charitable man, but a bad pope; for he not only did nothing to enlarge the power of the church, but even sacrilegiously permitted its treasures to be diminished.

638. 73. *John IV.*

Worthy doctor, you will doubtless be pleased with this pope, who was famous for his love of black-puddings, notwithstanding the decrees of the council of *Jerusalem*, held by pope *James*, at which our first vicegerent pope *Peter* also assisted.

641. 74. *Theodorus*

Took the bones of *St. Primus*, and *St. Fellicanus* out of their graves, set them in silver, and left them in *St. Stephen's chapel* to be worshipped by all good catholics.

647. 75. *Martinus I.*

Olympius being sent to the church to seize him, was struck blind just in the instant when he was going to execute his orders. And from this pope's time, the chair has claimed

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the power of striking people blind, as often as it is for the interest of the church, that they should not see. This man ordered priests to have their polls shaven.

A. D. 654. 76. *Eugenius*

Was so charitable and so humble a man, and did so little to augment the power of the church, that were it not to keep our *succession* perpetuated, you and I, doctor, would scarce own him for a *vicegerent*. This sad man ordered that bishops should have prisons to confine disorderly priests in, whereas we know prisons ought only to be made for the laity.

657. 77. *Vitalianus*

Was the first that introduced organs into the church, as a mechanical help to internal devotion, lest men should pray without intention of heat.

672. 78. *Deodatus II.*

Built churches, and introduced the custom of fasting upon fish in *Lent*.

676. 79. *Dono*

Paved St. *Peter's* porch with marble, and wished he could have done it with the skulls of *heretics*.

679. 80. *Agatha*

Ordained that all popes decrees should be received as if they were uttered by St. *Peter's* own mouth.

A. D. 682. 81. Leo II.

He set the church service to music.

684. 82. Benedict II.

Obtained of the emperor, that popes should be chosen by the clergy, without needing his confirmation. He first assumed the title of *Christ's viceroy*.

685. 83. John V.

Lay'd a-bed all his popedom, and was famous for writing a book concerning the dignity of the *Papal*.

686. 84. Canon

Poison'd himself, being, as some affirm, distracted.

687. 85. Sergius I.

His true name was *Bocco di Porco*, or *Swine-Snout*; but not liking his name, he introduced the fashion of the popes changing their names, which has continued ever since. He was a notorious adulterer.

701. 86. John VI.

Repaired three churches.

705. 87. John VII.

Refused to call a synod to settle some points of faith then in dispute. He was a bastard to John VI. and like *Nebuchadnezzar*, every where erected images, and made the people fall down and worship them.

707. 88. Sifinnius

Died of the gout.

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A. D. 707. 89. *Constantine*

Prevailed with *Theodoret* the emperor's admiral in *Italy*, to seize upon the archbishop of *Ravenna*, for denying the power of the chair, and to burn out his eyes. This was the first pope that offered his feet to be kissed.

716. 90. *Gregory II.*

Raised a rebellion against the emperor *Leahaurus*, because he caused images in churches to be pulled down.

731. 91. *Gregory III.*

Made a golden image of the *Virgin Mary*, which he ordered to be worshipped on pain of excommunication.

741. 92. *Zachary*

Excommunicated *Virgilius*, as a detestable heretic, for asserting that there were antipodes.

752. 93. *Stephen II.*

Was pope three days.

752. 94. *Stephen III.*

Was the first pope that was carried on men's shoulders. He added the exarchat of *Ravenna*, to the patrimony of *St. Peter*, as knowing that *Christ's kingdom* may sometimes be of this world.

757. 95. *Schism ninth. Paul II. Theophilus, Constantine, Philip.*

Paul was the true vicegerent. He wrote a book in defence of what is commonly called idolatry, calling images the *Layman's Kalendar*.

A. D.

A. D. 768. 96. Stephen IV.

Assembled a council at *Rome* to assert the honour of images, against the *Iconoclasti* (image-breakers) of the *East*.

772. 97. Hadrian I.

Established image-worship, at the second council of *Nice*. Covered the poor fisherman *Peter* with silver and gold, and added *Spoletto* and *Beneventum* to his patrimony.

796. 98. Leo III.

Was set upon by conspirators, who not only whipped his breech, but also plucked out his eyes and his tongue, which (as the Legendary says) were so well restored to him next day by the apostles, that he pronounced sentence on those that did it, and saw them executed!

816. 99. Stephen V.

Lived but seven months infallible.

817. 100. Paschal I.

Joined in an assassination plot, in which many of the emperor *Lewis's* great men were murdered in the *Lateran*. He first founded the college of cardinals, who were at first but parish priests in *Rome*, but soon became mates for kings.

824. 101. Schism tenth. Eugenius II. Zinzinus.

Eugenius was the right pope, for he excommunicated all that did not own him as such.

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A. D. 827. 102. Valentine

Was choaked with a fish-bone, forty days after his election. He was too good a man to be a good pope.

828. 103. *Gregory IV.*

Instituted the feast of *All-Saints*.

844. 104. *Sergius II.*

Removed a great many saints bones to better graves.

847. 105. *Leo VI.*

Introduced *Peter-pence*.

855. 106. *John VIII.*

By some fanatics, called *Pope Joan*. She was an *English* woman, *Gilberta* by name; and after having disguised herself in man's apparel, she travelled to *Athens* with her lover: where she became so great a proficient in learning, that all the clergy looked upon her as the ablest divine in the whole church. She was at length chosen *pope*, and after she had conferred *orders*, made *abbots*, ordained *bishops*, *priests*, and *deacons*, consecrated *churches*, baptized *infants*, and played the *pope* for one year, four months, and four days, this *literal* *whore* of *Babylon*, between the *Colossian* theatre, and *St. Clements*, fell in labour, was delivered of a bastard-child, and died on the spot. For this reason, succeeding *popes* were placed in a porphyry-chair with a hole in the bottom, and immediately after the election, their
genitals

genitals were to be searched by the *youngest deacon*. Now, though almost fifty different authors confirm this story, yet *we* true churchmen must insist upon it, that *she* was a true *vicegerent*, no *woman*, but a *regular priest*, and rightful *successor* of St. *Peter*. For if *she* were not so, we may chance not to have one *bishop* or canonical priest in all *England*. For who knows but the present sett may be such as were ordained by others, who were ordained by men, whose ordination originally came from our *she vicegerent*. Whose right and qualification therefore if we should be so imprudent as to deny, we might at once destroy the whole *divine right* of *episcopacy*, and reduce the poor *church of England* to such a pass, as to stand merely upon the *secular basis* of an act of parliament.

857. 107. *Benedict III. Anastasius III.*

Benedict is the man whom I prefer, who was himself buried by his own direction before St. *Peter's* threshold, an honour St. *Peter* had never received from any pope before.

858. 108. *Nicholas I.*

Introduced the fashion of praying in an unknown tongue, and for the honour of *God* made every one address themselves to him in *Latin*.

H. D.

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A. D. 867. 109. *Hadrian II.*

Was put into the chair by a *faction* at *Rome*, and then excommunicated the emperor for not owning him immediately.

872. 110. *John IX.*

Took it into his head to dispose of crowns, and anointed *Lewis* emperor, for which he was forced to fly; and afterwards to retain the chair, submitted to *Charles* the III^d, and anointed him emperor.

882. 111. *Martin II.*

He was only given to forcery; so long as he abstained from heresy, we may receive him for a *vicegerent*.

884. 112. *Hadrian III.*

By a decree deprived the emperors of that right, which they had always claimed and enjoyed, of electing the popes.

885. 113. *Stephen VI.*

Was esteemed the best chess-player of his time. Shewed himself a great friend to witches, adulterers, and likewise to the church.

890. 114. *Schism twelfth. Formosus, Sergius III.*

Formosus obtained the chair by bribery, and by force obliged his rival to fly out of *Italy*.

895. 115. *Poniface VI.*

Cardinal *Baronius* affirms that this man was not canonically chosen. Alas! doctor, either

wa

we must differ from a cardinal (which we do not care to do) or we must give up our uninterrupted succession.

A. D. 895. 116. *Stephen VII.*

Dug up the body of his predecessor, *Formosus*, to try him for heresy; and having convicted his *infallibility*, cut off the three fingers of his right hand, wherewith he used to give blessing, and to consecrate.

897. 117. *Romanus*

Condemned his infallible predecessor for his barbarity to *Formosus*.

897. 118. *Theodorus*

Restored all the decrees of *Formosus*, which *Stephen* had abrogated. Which of their *infallibilities* was in an error, we will not here determine.

897. 119. *Jahn X.*

Called a council to condemn all *Stephen's* decrees.

899. 120. *Benedict IV.*

Was pope but five months.

The church was without any vicegerent four years, which was a sad thing.

903. 121. *Schism thirteenth. Leo V.*

Christopher.

Christopher unpoped *Leo*, after he had governed the church for forty days; upon which the poor man broke his heart and died.

A. D.

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A. D. 904. 122. Sergius IV.

Unpoped *Christopher*; kept *Marczio*, a noble woman, as his whore; and lastly instituted the bearing of candles at the feast of the purification, which from thence has been called *Candlemas-day*.

911. 123. *Anastasius IV.*

Was a quiet man, and did nothing either good or bad during his whole pontificate.

912. 124. *Lando*

Was an admirer of salt-fish and eggs, and very famous for fasting.

913. 125. *John XI.*

The bastard of *Sergius*, and much versed in the art of war.

928. 126. *Leo VI.*

Being thrown into prison, at the end of six months, his christian patience being quite worn out, he died of grief, some say of poison.

928. 127. *Stephen VIII.*

By some is called the VIIth. Was a peaceable man, and did nothing for the good of the church.

930. 128. *John XII.*

Another of *Sergius's* bastards, and a notorious friend to reliques. He poisoned *Leo* and *Stephen*, his predecessors; and being caught in adultery, was slain by an impudent layman, that said he was the husband to his holiness's mistress.

A. D.

and ORTHODOXY shaken. 43

A. D. 935. 129. *Leo VII.*

Was a great patron of monks and friars.

939. 130. *Stephen IX.*

Was all his time busied in civil wars.

943. 131. *Marinus.*

All that's remarkable of him, is that some writers call him *Martin III.*

946. 132. *Agapetus II.*

Was the first that instituted music at *Vespers.*

956. 133. *John XIII.*

Was accused in a synod before the emperor *Otho*, for having put out the eyes of some of his cardinals, plucking out the tongues of others, cutting off the hands, feet, fingers, noses, and genitals of others: for ordaining deacons (to perpetuate our succession) in a stable, for making boys bishops for money, for ravishing both virgins and pilgrims, and lastly for calling upon the devil for assistance at dice, and drinking to his health. For these spiritual acts of *vicgerency*, the emperor set him aside, and placed *Leo* in his stead. But no sooner was the emperor gone from *Rome*, than *John* returned, drove *Leo* out, and repossessed the chair. In which he continued to act as *vicgerent*, till being caught in bed with another man's wife, he was like his predecessor *John XII.* slain by the husband in the very act of adultery.

A. D.

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*A. D. 963. 134. Schism fourteenth. Leo VIII.
Benedict V.*

Leo like a true pope call'd for assistance
from the *secular arm*, which seized upon his
rival, and made him end his days in a prison.

965. 135. *John XIV.*

Invented the blessing and baptizing of bells,
which, before his time, were unhallowed
things.

972. 136. *Dono II.*

Was a lazy pope, and a great eater, which
is all that we hear of his holiness.

972. 137. *Benedict VI.*

Was imprisoned, and afterwards strangled
in his prison, which *Platina* affirms was much
too gentle a death for him.

972. 138. *Boniface VII.*

Came to the popedom by two murders,
that of *Benedict*, and that of *John*, a deacon
that opposed him, whose eyes he first plucked
out, and then killed him. This vicegerent
alas! stole all the church-treasure.

975. 139. *Benedict VII.*

Lived a whole *Lent* upon almonds, raisins
and milk.

983. 140. *John XV.*

Died in a gaol for want of necessities, hav-
ing been thrown into that place by the people
of *Rome*, whom he had most violently op-
pressed.

A. D.

A. D. 985. 141. *John XVI.*

Sold the church-plate and jewels to enrich his kindred, whose example hath been for the most part followed ever since.

995. 142. *John XVII.*

Baronius questions much, if there ever was such a pope; but you and I, doctor, will not permit a popish cardinal to rob us of a successor; for if he does not know the church's interest, we do.

996. 143. *Schism fifteenth. Gregory V.*
John XVIII.

Gregory was the right man, who invented the ringing the little bell before mass. I cannot deny that *John* had some claim to the chair, for *Platina* says he was a thief and a robber.

998. 144. *Silvester II.*

Was a great necromancer: he set up a brazen head, which he consulted, as many catholics have done since. One day, as he was officiating at high mass, at *St. Cross of Jerusalem* at *Rome*, those rebellious subjects of Christ the devils took his vicegerent away, and he was never heard of more.

1003. 145. *John XIX.*

Is looked upon by the historians as no *Pope* at all, but is always counted one by true churchmen, who are determined never to give up the divine right of bishops. He is said to have been an excellent magician.

A. D.

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A. D. 1003. 146. *John XX.*

Till his time the people of *Rome* always chose their own *pope*: but this man took that privilege out of their hands, and vested it in the clergy, in whom it has ever since continued to be *jure divino*.

1009. 147. *Sergius V.*

Commonly called IV. He was a *Pythagorean*, and forbid all his clergy eating beans: He was the first *vicegerent* of the *prince of peace*, that consecrated swords.

1012. 148. *Benedict VIII.*

Wrote an encomium on the monastic life, was married, and died, he and his family of the plague.

1024. 149. *John XXI.*

Platina and others affirm he never was in holy orders; but since he ordained *bishops*, *priests* and *deacons*, we might as well give into the story of *Pope Joan*, as allow this man to have been a *lay-vicegerent*.

1033. 150. *Schism sixteenth. Benedict IX.*

Silvester III. 151. *Gregory VI.*

Benedict was a *sorcerer*, *Silvester* a *sodomite*, and *Gregory* an *usurer*. Three persons so well gifted, that I am at a stand to determine who had the best claim. To avoid mistakes, let us join the three together, and we may affirm that amongst them, they made up one *well qualify'd pope*.

A. D.

A. D. 1047. 152. *Clement II.*

Did nothing remarkable besides making all the people in *Rome* perjure themselves; a thing commonly practised by divines.

1048. 153. *Damasus II.*

Poisoned his predecessor, and enjoyed the chair but three and twenty days after.

1049. 154. *Leo IX.*

Invented the useful doctrine of transubstantiation; and to make the absurdity swallow'd, gave out that Christ and he had many personal conversations.

1055. 155. *Victor II.*

Excommunicated many of his clergy for fornication, by whom he was poisoned as a tyrannical vicegerent.

1057. 156. *Schism seventeenth. Stephen X.*
Benedict X.

Stephen was our right successor, for he sentenced a man to death for saying *St. Peter* did not die at *Rome*.

1059. 157. *Nicholas II.*

Excommunicated and persecuted all those that denied transubstantiation, and made *Berengarius* recant his errors, which were the same tenets, that the church of *England* now holds.

A. D.

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A.D. 1061. 158. Schism eighteenth. Alexander II.

Honorius II.

Alexander, like a true head of the church, deprived all laicks of the right of investiture to sacred functions.

1073. 159. Schism nineteenth. Gregory VII.

Clement III.

Gregory (by others called *Hildebrand*) made his way to that dignity by poisoning five of his predecessors; excommunicated *Henry III.* and made him wait bareheaded and barefoot three days, before he would readmit him into the church.

1086. 160. Schism twentieth. Victor III.

Clement III.

Victor excommunicated *Henry III.* as his predecessor had done, and was poisoned in a chalice for his pains.

1088. 161. Urbanus II.

Made a decree that no layman should give an ecclesiastical benefice. From his quarrelsome temper was nicknam'd *Turbanus*.

1099. 162. Schism twenty-first. Paschal II.

Guibert, Alberto d'Atella, Frederick, Maginulphus.

Paschal was the true pope, and had been a creature of *Gregory VII.* He made a league with the emperor *Henry IV.* and confirmed it with the most solemn oaths; but no sooner was

was *Henry* gone out of *Italy*, when he revoked all that he had done, and excommunicated him; nay, and made him wait at his door bare-foot, before he would recall the excommunication.

1118. 163. *Schism twenty-second. Gelasius II.*
Gregory VIII.

Gelasius was the true successor, to whose piety the world owes the foundation of the *knights templars*.

1119. 164. *Calistus II.*

Decreed that no lousy person should enter the church, and declared it was adultery for a bishop to forsake his see; by which we may understand who *my lady bishop* is.

1124. 165. *Schism twenty-third. Honorius II.*
Celestin II.

Honorius, to manifest his sincere love to the church, put to death *Arnulphus*, a *low-church* preacher in those times, for inveighing against the pride and usurped power of the *Romish* church.

1130. 166. *Schism twenty-fourth. Innocent II.*
Anacletus II. Victor IV.

Innocent doubtless was the truest vicegerent, for he ordained that no layman should presume ever to lay violent hands on a clergyman.

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A. D. 1143. 167. Celestin III.

Commonly called II. Was the first inventor of that christian method of cursing by *bell, book and candle.*

1144. 168. Lucius II.

Brought up the orthodox custom of eating pancakes and fritters on a *Sbrove-Tuesday.*

1145. 169. Eugenius III.

Repaired seven churches.

1153. 170. Anastasius IV.

Converted the *Pantheon*, where the heathen deities were worshipped, into the *Maria Rund*, where popish saints are prayed to.

1154. 171. Hadrian IV.

From a beggar at *St. Albans*, came to be pope; and being thus mounted, to try how well he could ride, made the emperor *Frederick Barbarossa* hold his stirrup, after which he excommunicated him, because he would not hold the empire as a fief or tributary to the pope. He absolved all the subjects of *William* king of *Sicily* from their allegiance; and, in a word, was a true friend to the church.

1159. 172. Schism twenty fifth. Alexander III.

Victor IV. Paschal III.

Alexander was my man, for he trod upon the emperor *Frederick's* head, saying, *Super aspidem et basiliscum ambulabis*; the emperor (as if he had been tutored by the bishop of *Banger*)

and ORTHODOXY shaken. 51

Bangor) answered, *Non tibi sed Petro*, that is, *You cannot pretend to that power tho' Peter might*, who was an apostle, and infallible; to which the pope replied, (as if you and I had been by to advise him) *et mihi et Petro*, the same powers are lodged in me as were in Peter.

A. D. 1181. 173. Lucius III.

Attempted to abolish the whole constitution at Rome, and bring it into subjection to himself; in which he succeeded so far, as to destroy the whole consular power.

1186. 174. Urban III.

Was a great encourager of the holy war, but died of a fright.

1187. 175. Gregory VIII.

Was pope two months, and sick all the time, whether infallibility did not agree with his constitution, or what else ailed him, I cannot tell.

1188. 176. Clement III.

Pardoned all sins that were committed by any that should afterwards die in the holy wars. He excommunicated the Danes for maintaining the marriage of their clergy.

1191. 177. Celestin III.

First with his feet put the crown upon the emperor Otto's head, and then kick'd it off, saying, *Per me regnant reges*, that is, *My kingdom is of this world*.

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A. D. 1198. 178. *Innocent III.*

Excommunicated the emperor *Otho IVth.* made king *John of England* hold his crown as tributary, and confirmed the heavenly doctrine of *auricular confession*.

1217. 179. *Honorius III.*

By this vicegerent's instigation, *St. Dominick* set the engines of this world at work, and practised wholesome severities against the heretical *Waldenses* and *Albigenses*, of whom not above a hundred thousand suffered for believing what is now the doctrine of *our church*, but was then a damnable heresy, the last determination of the church being against it.

1227. 180. *Gregory IX.*

Excommunicated his patron *Frederick II.* by whose means alone he was made pope; to shew that gratitude cannot influence the church in favour of a man that opposes their power. However, to shew that there is a way of influencing the church, (tho' not by gratitude) he absolved the emperor upon payment of one hundred and twenty ounces of gold.

1241. 181. *Celestin IV.*

Died of poison eighteen days after his election, before he knew that he was infallible.

1242. 182. *Innocent IV.*

Persecuted *Robert Grosstlead*, bishop of *Lincoln*, for calling him *Anti-Christ*. He first directed

directed the cardinals to wear *red hats*, which *heretics* say, was a certain token that they belonged to the *scarlet whore*.

A. D. 1254. 183. *Alexander IV.*

Declared all the *Saracens* were in a state of damnation, and not finding they fought the worse, died of grief.

1261. 184. *Urban IV.*

Excommunicated *Mainfrey* king of *Sicily*, and published a *croisade* against him, pronouncing a great number of pardons and benedictions to those of his subjects, that should either dethrone or kill him.

1265. 185. *Clement IV.*

Was first a soldier, then a lawyer, and last of all a pope.

The see of Rome was vacant two years, which was a sad thing.

1271. 186. *Gregory X.*

Exacted of all the clergy a tenth part of their livings towards the charge of the holy war: but no occasion happening, applied it all to his own private use.

1275. 187. *Innocent V.*

Was the first that kept a solemn coronation.

1276. 188. *Hadrian V.*

Died thirty-six days after he was elected.

1276. 189. *John XXII.*

Was a very good physician, and an expert astrologer; notwithstanding which great helps, *Platina* affirms he acted very foolishly.

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A. D. 1277. 190. *Nicholas III.*

Was the real author of that very wholesome severity to the *French in Sicily*, known by the name of the *Sicilian vespers*.

1281. 191. *Martin IV.*

Entirely answered the doctrine which you and I, Sir, have so often asserted. For he certainly sat in Christ's stead, when the ambassadors of *Palermo*, kneeling, repeated thrice to him these words, — *Thou that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us.* Which address his holiness received very graciously. He kept for many years a concubine of his predecessor *Nicholas's*.

1285. 192. *Honorius IV.*

Excommunicated *Peter* king of *Aragon*, and his son; and opposed our *Engl'sh* king in levying taxes.

1288. 193. *Nicholas IV.*

Made himself mediator to all the princes in *Europe*, and would have sent them all *sauntering* into the holy wars.

1294. 194. *Celestin V.*

Was too simple and too honest a man to do much service to the church.)

1294. 195. *Boniface VIII.*

Made up for the inactive spirit of his predecessor; invented the market of *indulgences*, and for every hundred years founded a *jubilee*; at which time every man's sins were forgiven, upon.

and ORTHODOXY shaken. 55

upon his visiting St. *Peter* and St. *Paul* at their churches in *Rome*. *Philip*, king of *France*, convicted him in open parliament of symony, murder, atheism, usury, adultery, and also of a secret league with the *Saracens*. I am sorry to say that, for our arguments sake, you and I, doctor, must accept of this man for one of Christ's *vicegerents*.

A. D. 1303]. 196. *Benedict XI.*

Was poisoned for his probity.

1304. 197. *Clement V.*

Was the first that fixed a standing price upon indulgences.

1315. 198. *Schism twenty-sixth. John XXIII.*
Nicholas V.

John was the true head of the church. He caused *Peter* a monk and many of his followers (who taught that Christ had no property, and also that his disciples had none) to be burned alive. He was also of opinion that in the text *My kingdom is not of this world*, the word NOT was spurious, and ought not to remain in any *orthodox bible*. This is an answer to the modern heresy that we never thought of, and deserves well to be considered.

1334. 199. *Benedict XII.*

Excommunicated the emperor *Lewis*, and gave away all his dominions in *Italy*.

C. 4.

A. D.

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A. D. 1342. 200. Clement VI.

Ordered the *jubilee* to be kept every fifty years, the hundred years market coming round too seldom for the church's benefit.

1352. 201. *Innocent VI.*

Burned *Johannes de Rupe Scissa*, for pretending to assert, that the *Scripture* might be interpreted by a *private judgment*; by which it appears, that had the bishop of *Bangor* lived then, he might have been burned for his notions.

1362. 202. *Urban V.*

Excommunicated *Barnabon* king of *Milan*, for denying his infallibility; was a great stickler for the privileges of holy church, and confirmed the order of *St. Bridget*.

1370. 203. *Gregory XI.*

Never lived at *Rome*, till upon his suspending a bishop for non-residence, he was asked how he could punish a fault he committed himself.

1378. 204. *Schism twenty-seventh. Urban VI.*
Clement VII.

Urban, the true successor, took five of the cardinals that had voted against him, and putting them into sacks, threw them into the sea.

1389. 205. *Boniface IX. Benedict XIII.*

Boniface, the real pope, while the other lived at *Avignon*, seized a priest at the head of
a con-

a considerable number of priests in white garments, and suspecting he had a design of making himself pope, ordered him to be burned alive.

A. D. 1404. 206. *Schism twenty-eighth.*

Innocent VII. Benedict XIII.

Innocent, our vicegerent, upon being reproached by the citizens of *Rome*, for breach of his oath, ordered eleven of them immediately to be beheaded, saying, *that was the only way to remove schism and sedition.*

1406. 207. *Schism twenty-ninth. Gregory XII.*

Benedict XIII.

Gregory, the true head of the church, did nothing of consequence, but excommunicate his opponent. Which he did in order to make him a *heretic*, and so render void the oath which he had made to him, that if he were chosen *Pope*, he would resign to him; but *fides cum hereticis non est servanda.*

1409. 208. *Schism thirtieth. Alexander V.*

Benedict XIII.

Deposed *Ladislaus* king of *Naples*, and gave his kingdom away to *Lewis* of *Anjou*.

1414. 209. *Schism thirty first. John XXIV.*

Benedict XIII.

John was deposed by the council of *Constance* as a drunkard, an incestuous person, a pedlar of pardons, and an *infidel*. In the same council, *Benedict* was likewise deposed. One of the resolutions of the council was, *That a*

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general council legally summoned, was invested with the supreme authority next to Jesus Christ. Then it was that infallibility crept into a general council.

A.D. 1457. 210. *Schism thirty-second.*
Martin V. Clement VIII.

The latter of these abdicated the popedom, soon after he had obtained it. But *Martin*, like a wise man, thought fit to dismiss the council of *Constance*, upon its being proposed there to consider of a reformation of manners amongst the clergy. This was the good pope that condemned *Wickliff*, and effectually quelled those disturbers of the church's unity, *John Hufs* and *Jerome of Prague*, by the help of those necessary engines called fire and faggot.

1431. 211. *Schism thirty-third.* *Eugenius IV.*
Felix IV.

Eugenius, the true vicegerent to the prince of peace, was, during his whole popedom, engaged in a war.

1447. 212. *Nicholas VI.*

Gave an indulgence to a friend of his, to go to a forcerer for the recovery of stolen goods.

1455. 213. *Calistus III.*

Canonized *Vincent Ferrier*, a notorious wizard.

1458. 214. *Pius II.*

Was a quiet man, and of no use to the church;

and ORTHONOMY *spoken.* 39

church, which stands in need of men of active and enterprizing geniuses.

A. D. 1464. 215. *Paul III.*

Commonly called II. He decreed all learning to be heresy, and very truly declared *ignorance* to be the *mother of devotion*. He told *Platina* that all laws human and divine were lodged in his breast.

1471. 216. *Sixtus IV.*

Murdered one of the princes of the *Medici* family by hired assassins, whilst he was at mass. He permitted public bawdy-houses to be kept in *Rome*, upon their paying him certain fines; and brought in the use of beads.

1484. 217. *Innocent VIII.*

Collected a vast sum of money for a war against the *Turks*, and employ'd it all in a war with the king of *Naples*, who was a *christian*. He was much given to excesses in drinking and to *venery*.

1492. 218. *Alexander VI.*

Obtained the popedom by nothing but bribery. He was poison'd by a mistake with the very *dose*, which his son had prepared for a rich cardinal that supped with him. He very frankly own'd all his bastards, which were no small number; was accused of committing incest with his sister, and of having entered into a compact with the devil.

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A. D. 1503. 219. *Pius III.*

Was poison'd twenty six days after he was chosen.

1505. 220. *Julius II.*

Was a true member of the church militant, for he never was out of war, all his life-time. He sodomitically ravished two noble *Venetian* youths, had two bastards, and dy'd of a fever at seventy years of age. He was remarkably zealous for the *power* of the church, which one good quality may cover a multitude of sin, in the opinion of us staunch churchmen, sooner by much than *charity*.

1514. 221. *Leo X.*

He sold pardons at very reasonable rates. And was heard by some *heretics* (as they have affirm'd in print) to say that the gospels might more properly be called the *fabls of Christ*. But this we *successionists* believe to be fabulous.

1522. 222. *Adrian VI.*

Acknowledged that he himself was fallible, and that the church of *Rome* was a sink of vices. This therefore is the worst of all our *successors*, and we should disown him, could we perpetuate our *succession* without him. This we may say, that he deserved as little to be pope as a certain person does to be a bishop, since both of them betray the *secrets of their order*.

1532. 223. *Clement IX.*

In this vicegerent's time, there arose a sett of men with the bishop of *Banger's* notions,
and

and to the great disturbance of the church's peace and unity, taught these heretical doctrines: That no man was infallible, and therefore no man was qualified to act in *Christ's stead*: That Christ was *king* in his *own kingdom*; and therefore no man could impose their interpretations of his laws upon others: That all his laws were contained in Scripture, and that every thing necessary to salvation was there so plainly delivered, that the meanest capacity might understand it: and that every one was to read in that book, and judge for themselves. At the same time, translations of the bible were made in all languages. Thus was the *vail of the temple rent in twain*, and hidden mysteries were exposed to the eyes of the vulgar. These free-thinking notions prevailed so far, that at length the secular power in this nation embraced them; and cutting off a noble revenue from the church, (what now a-days would amount to ten or twelve millions *per annum*, for which many honest churchmen sigh to this day.)

Schism thirty-fourth.

King Henry VIII. made himself *supreme head of the church*, which example all our kings have followed. And as this title has been confirmed by *acts* of parliament, which make it a *præmunire* to speak against it: so ever since that time, it has been the fashion in *England*

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to look upon the *Roman Catholics* as the *schismatics*.

Out of prudence I proceed no farther in my list, but shall leave every honest churchman to guess who are the rest of my vicegerents: I doubt not but we shall understand one another's meaning, as well as if we spoke out. However if any of our friends should be so dull as not to know what we would have, let them consult Dr. *Hicks's* works, and *Lesley's Case of the Pontificate, and the Regale*. There he may discover, not only where the sincerest of us lodge the *supremacy*, but also learn the absolute necessity of an *uninterrupted succession of men vested with that supremacy*, without which, it seems, we must all be *unavoidably damned*. And although some weak brethren may be puzzled in this affair, because they know we have swallowed certain odd *oaths*, which seem to contradict both our *conversation* and *doctrine*: yet, if they will but consider how unreasonable and how antichristian it is, that we spiritual members of the church should be tied down by *oaths* invented by *laymen*, they may soon discover where it is, that we place our *uninterrupted succession of Christ's vicegerents*.

You see, learned doctor, that I have cleared up the *hierarchy* of our church, and replaced the

*the divine right of episcopacy upon its true and solid basis; a basis not to be shaken by the breath of every scoffing free-thinker. Let then the bishop, and his seconds, the enemies of all revelation, read here, and be confounded. Let them see here a perpetuated succession of infallible men from the apostles days; though indeed they are many of them guilty of facts, which in any layman might have served for foils to the actions of a Nero or Heliogabalus; yet since they were committed by clergymen, are only to be regarded as sanctified trifles, and venial Peccadillo's; as appears from the pious annotations in our * Orthodox Testament on the 23d chapter of St. Matthew, which affirm, That notwithstanding the bishop of Rome were ever so wicked of life; yea, though some traitor as evil as Judas were bishop thereof, it should not be prejudicial to the church. Thus, reverend Sir, it is plain, that no objection of weight can be started against us: For were our succession composed of devils incarnate, provided they were regularly ordained, it would be never the worse; nay in the condition things now stand, it would be much the better. For the more power Satan had (and he certainly would have vast power were he a pope) the greater would the obligation be upon the laity of keeping us up, as a*

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spiritual standing army against him. To *say* the truth, were our enemy (or shall I call him our friend) *the monarch of hell* totally subdued and crushed, I doubt it would fare with us, as it did with many of the gentlemen of the sword, since the death of *Lewis XIV.*—We should either be disbanded or reduced to half-pay. A misfortune which those gentlemen of a carnal warfare might easily have avoided, had they taken *us spiritual militia* for their example, and either fought booty, or taken care not to *cast forth and dispossess* the enemy too often of their *fastnesses*. A *priestly foresight*, which the rash D. of *M—* wanted in *Flanders*. He was a *layman*, but thank our stars *we* of the clergy have more prudence than to rout our enemies too much, and therefore we shall never run the risque of being laid aside, as he was. To which end, instead of attempting to remove the wickedness, the ignorance and superstition of the vulgar, three main *props* of our *sacerdotal power*, let us preach up nothing but *party sermons*, let us cry up our own *authority*, and continually alarm the nation with the *danger of the church*; and I cannot in the least doubt, but we shall see the honest *laity* content still to follow us with strings in their noses. To shew you, doctor, that I have not been idle in this grand affair; I can assure you that, though I am but a *country curate*, I have been for these
many

many years inculcating into my congregation the belief of my *mission* from heaven; I have often told them that I am *God's ambassador*; that I ought to be treated by the best of my parish, with a submission due to so great a person, otherwise it was an affront upon him that sent me: And I have so far succeeded, that the least contempt of me fixes upon any man the name of *fanatic*: A title, which I have taught my flock to dread, more than that of *atheist*, *blasphemer*, *drunkard*, *whoremaster*, or *swearer*.

Thus, Sir, though our office be originally to *preach Christ*, yet you know it is very wholesome and for the good of the church to *preach ourselves* too. And as we can shew no *credentials* for our *embassadrosbips*, so it will be very expedient for us to keep the laity from making any strict enquiries into them; for which good purpose, let us true churchmen stand by one another; and if any one shall be so bold (which of late too too many of our own order have been) as to question our authority, let us never stick a moment at branding him with the names of *fanatic*, *atheist*, *free-thinker* and *enemy to all revelation*. And as a great *emperor of Rome* led the way, and you have honestly followed his example, let us dress up all our enemies in *wolves and bear-skins*, and then we need not fear their being worry'd and baited
by

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by a true *church-mob*, whenever they have an opportunity. And as our own *bulky reputation* will easily weigh down that of another man, when it is crack'd or almost wasted away; so it will not be improper to employ all the hands we can, in raking for dirt to throw at our adversaries, especially those of unblemished characters. In which pleasing task, I can promise you the pious endeavours of many of my Brethren here, who have taken indefatigable pains in spreading your works.

I hold it prudence in all cases to follow the advice of the old proverb, and *cry where first*: for which reason I think we ought to stigmatize all our opposers with the name of *papist* as well as of *fanatic*. For since our denying the *liberty of private judgment* may be demonstrated to be directly opposite to the foundation on which the *reformation* was built, we should not easily get off the imputation of *perversity*, had we not been before-hand with our adversaries, and called them *papists* and *enemies to our church*, first. Again our scheme of church-government is the same with that which the Jesuits maintain to be their public *theses*, and our doctrine of *possibilities* is exceeding like theirs of *probabilities**; now left our great enemy the bishop of *Banger* should

* *Vid. Lettres Provinciales. Let. V.*

fix upon us the reproach of adhering to *Jesuitical notions*, which we could not well clear ourselves from, we begin with him, and not only charge him with inclining to *Jesuitism*, but likewise with entertaining *one of that fraternity in his house*. It is true the poor refugee has sufficiently convinced us that he is no *Jesuit*, but that shall never satisfy us; whilst he continues under the same patronage, he shall also continue under the same name: and whilst he converses among the seconds of our *grand adversary*, we will admit of no proof of his *conversion*, but deem him as much a *Jesuit*, as if we saw him officiating at *high mass*.

And here, Sir, though we use the words *Jesuit* and *high mass* to frighten our weak brethren from joining with our enemies; yet I would not have any one imagine that there is any harm in the *things themselves*. I confess had Mr. *Pillonniers* still officiated at *high mass*, he would have found better quarter from us; for 'tis not probable that any set of true *priests* should be real enemies to such a religion, as that of the *Romish church*, which is so admirably calculated for the power, honour, and grandeur of its clergy. Alas, hath he been one of those quick-sighted fathers, and not:

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found out, that we long for those onions, sweeter than any that ever grew in *Egypt*: Had he been a man of penetration, he must have long ago found out the drift of all our pious endeavours. He might have observed that when we had a *catholic prince* on the throne, then it was that our famous doctrine of PASSIVE OBEDIENCE and NON-RESISTANCE was most inculcated, as the only medium for a *popish king* to establish his *religion* here by. He might have observed how carefully we have propagated the doctrine of *divine indefeasible hereditary right*; which had it taken its desired effect, I leave the world to judge of *what religion our king* would now have been.

The bishops *Jesuit* might have observed what we meant by the word *church*, whose danger (like mercury in a barometer, wholly govern'd by the power of external air) was observed to rise or fall, just as *popery* lost or got ground here. Thus in king *Charles the II'd's* time, the *church* was very healthy; in king *James the II'd's*, she flourish'd exceedingly, till he unwisely began to put our *passive doctrines* in practice upon ourselves, which made our nature a little rebel against our principle. In king *William's* reign, the poor *church* languished under a deep consumption; which was somewhat restored by the two first years of *Queen Anne*: But as soon as ever the *Duke of Marlborough*

borough beat our friends beyond sea, our ecclesiastical weather-glass *rose*, and the church was never in such *danger* : But this was soon over, for the queen at a *touch* cured all our *evil*, by putting an end to the *church-destructive* war, clapping up a *peace*, that had we been beaten, we could not have obtained one more for the benefit of our *church* ; and lastly, by degrading the conquering general, and placing one in his room, who was a zealous son of our *church*, for which he now suffers exile with his and our FRIEND. These indeed were glorious times ! But alas ! our pious queen and our most christian ally died just in the nick of time ; what QUALMS our poor *church* has had ever since, must needs be known to Mr. *Pillonniere*. Besides all this, he can never really think we hate him for being one of the *Jesuits*, if he will but farther consider in how many things *we* of the *high-church* follow their steps.

The *Jesuits* in their *theses* of *Lova'n*, in the year 1645, say *, *It is only a venial sin to calumniate and impose false crimes to ruin their credit, who speak ill of us*. Now can any man that reads the *dean* of *Chichester's*, Mr. *Law's* or your writings, conclude from them, that any of us true sons of the church differ from this tenet of those worthy fathers ? I am sure our

* *Lettres Provinciales*. Let. XV.

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treatment of the bishop of *Banger* proves that we are of their mind. And as the good fathers of *Lovain* prove their right of calumniating by their matchless doctrine of † *probabilities*; so we by the help of *possibilities* support our calumnies. As for example, *Pillenniere* may possibly be a *Jesuit* still, ergo, he is a *Jesuit* still. This is our peculiar church-logic, and as you say † *every one who understands reasoning* (which indeed none but we staunch churchmen do) will agree with you.

Again, the reverend fathers the *Jesuits* hold it lawful to do evil, provided it be for the good of the church. Now if this were not also our religious principle, how could we justify the many honest church mobs which we have stirred up to burn and plunder meeting-houses for the sake of the church: or how could any of our gown have appeared at *Preston*, had not the good of the church been thought to license our breaking our oaths, and sanctified rebellion?

Again, those ghostly fathers the *Jesuits* teach the direction of the intention, with that excellent doctrine of mental reservation, by which a man may commit any crime, and avoid the sin. Now if some honest men amongst us

† *Lettres Provinc. ubi supra.*

† *Snape's* second Letter, p. 9.

had not some such small *helps*, they could never have swallowed the *oaths* of *allegiance* and *abjuration* HEARTILY, WILLINGLY, and TRULY, as most of us do. But as these *oaths* are taken for the *good of the church*, and for the retaining of benefices in, *orthodox* hands, the *uprightness of the intention* atones for the sin of *perjury*, if we should chance any of us to be guilty of so *venial* a *sin*. Pursuant to this principle too; if we find one of the *laity* implicit in his obedience to us (let him be ever so *profligate*, or ever so great a stranger to the inside of a *church*) we pronounce him a *better churchman* than a follower of the bishop of *Bangor*, though he were ever so regular in his life, or ever so constant in going to church: Because these actions can have no true merit in them, while his *intention* is *diabolically directed* to the *destruction* of the true and unlimited *authority of the church*, which is the chief thing that a believer should be attached to.

The *Jesuits*, as well as all other catholicks, deny the *laity* the use of the *scriptures*. And even in this point we do not differ from them, so much as we would make weak brethren believe we do: For form sake indeed we put the *bible* into the people's hands, but then we deny them the *use* of it, as much as any *Jesuit* can. For if any one pretends to read it with
more

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more understanding than a boy at a reading-school; if any one shall dare to chalk out to himself from thence *rules of life, of conscience, or of faith*, without consulting us, the *saucy shoemaker* will quickly be told, that he is gone *beyond his last*: *Negative discouragements* and (if we have them in our power) *positive punishments* shall soon teach him that *his soul is not his own*.

To proceed. As the fathers the Jesuits hold it lawful * to murder and assassinate princes, who are not for the *unlimited power of the church*, and can prepare for that purpose *Barrieres, Castels and Ravilliacs*: So we never wanted our *Perkins, Friends, Fenwicks and Shepheards*, whenever we thought our church was in *danger*. Not to run parallels farther, by comparing the *extensiveness* of charity amongst the *Jesuits* with what we practise, which would be only proving one *Sosa* was like another; I am sure I have said enough to convince any hearty *Jesuit*, that it is much more prudent for him to *join with us* of the *high-church*, than to associate with the bishop of *Bangor* and his fanatical companies.

Therefore I beg you to communicate this letter to Mr. *Pilloniere*; a Jesuit *be certainly*

* See appendix to the *Summary of Religious Houses in England and Wales*, p. 88 to the end.

was, and therefore is so now; and I doubt not but as he is a *Jesuit*, upon duly weighing what is here urged, he will desert that scandalous cause, which he is now embarked in, to flock with *birds* more of his own feather. And when we have bereft our *antagonist* of the *man* who helped him to all his *evasions*, *equivocations*, and *mental reservations*; how easy will it be to run down an heretic, that hath nothing but *reason* and *scripture* left to support his cause: *reason* and *scripture*, two weak supports, when set in competition with the *engines* of *this world*, which ought to be employed by *us*, the *vicegerents* of *Christ**, for *restraining offenders against us*, and to *keep in awe the disturbers of the church's peace and unity*. Let the bishop remember the fate of *John Hus*, *Jerome of Prague*, *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, *Latimer*, and the rest of the remarkable disturbers of the *church's unity*; and whatever ill-grounded opinions he may have entertained concerning *us*, because we wear the name of *protestant*, I can assure him, he would find he had a *woful cause* to defend, were we intrusted with those *engines* of *this world*, by which our happy brethren beyond sea daily preserve the *authority*, *peace*, and *unity* of the *church*.

* *Snapé's* first Letter, p. 20.

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Having thus fully confuted the bishop's arguments, and settled the *vicegerency in Christ's kingdom* in the popes till the *reformation*; tho' where it now continues, I neither dare nor will bluntly affirm: In order to put in every honest *churchman's* mouth a defence of our *plan of church-government*, I shall lay down a short specimen of it, founded on the foregoing *church-maxims*. And to do this with more ease (since I have proved that the *kingdom of Christ*, notwithstanding all texts to the contrary, may be *of this world*) I will liken it to something that is actually *now in this world*, and that shall be to your *Dionysian monarchy at Eaton*.

First then, as you sit supreme governor, encompassed round with *secular engines*, and vested with power to set them on work, for the terrifying and keeping in awe all those, who attempt to disturb the *peace* of your *school*: So our grand *vicegerent* (whether he be a pope, a king, an archbishop, or a collective body of clergy) ought to sit supreme in the spiritual kingdom, assisted with *secular engines*, and vested with power to set them at work, as often as the *peace and unity* of the *church* shall be molested.

As you have the *same powers* with the first master that ever taught in your school, which
were

were handed down to you by the preceding master, and which, when you leave the school, you will transmit to another, who will upon his demission substitute likewise another, thereby to perpetuate a succession of school masters at Eaton : So our present spiritual head of the church hath the same powers with the first vicegerent delegated to him ; which powers, when he can no longer remain supreme on earth, will be transmitted to others, who are to perpetuate a succession of such vicegerents through all succeeding ages of the world.

As in your Eatonian kingdom it sometimes happens, that when *negative discouragements* are not sufficient to keep your subjects in order, you apply *positive punishments*, and that effectual engine the rod : So in our ecclesiastical kingdom, when little *negative discouragements*, such as *occasional and schism bills*, are found insufficient towards preserving church unity, a *positive application of fines and penalties*, and sometimes of *fire and faggot* is not a method wholly displeasing to staunch churchmen at bottom.

As none of your children have any right to judge for themselves, or to question your infallibility in expounding the *classicks*, even though you taught that *Bavius* and *Mævius* were

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better poets than *Virgil* or *Horace* : So none of those *babes* the *laity* should pretend to judge for themselves, or question the *church's* interpretations of *Scripture*, but receive them as *infallible* ; nay, they ought to submit to the *church's* authority, though she taught that *Suarez* and *Billarmine* were greater divines than *St. Paul* and *St. James*.

As no *boy* ought to plead conscience for being absent from *school*, or refusing to come to *repetition*, or for not performing any *task* you shall set him : So no layman ought to plead conscience for not coming to *church*, or for refusing to join in the *common-prayer*, or for not submitting to all the *impositions* the *church* shall think fit to lay upon him.

Lastly ; As you have many *vice-preceptors*, who act under you, and share with you in all the privileges of your government, as well as in teaching and punishing your subjects, who cannot call those *vice-preceptors* to an account without rebelling against your power : So our *spiritual governor* hath us his *deputy governors* to act under him, as well in teaching and punishing, as in all other exercises of dominion over the *laity*, who are not to question us his *belly ushers* for any thing we do.

Thus

Thus have I shewn you, learned doctor, that the laity are no better than *school-boys*, whose reason, whose consciences, whose backs, and sides, in short, whose body and souls ought to be under our discipline. This is the glorious *church-scheme* we ought to stand by. This is what the *wise and politic* among us have always been endeavouring to establish. Since the *bishop of Bangor* therefore, and a set of *free-thinking laity* pretend that *every man has a right to judge for himself*, which destroys our whole goodly designs at once; let all honest churchmen, such as you and I, join heart and hand in defence of our *church's power*; let us leave no stone unturned to make our adversaries character odious; for which holy purpose, let us run into company, betray conversation, invent scandal, and to support it, print children and *old wives tales*. Nay to serve the *church*, let the saying of *June* be written in all our hearts,

Flectere, si nequeo, superos, acheronta movebo;

that is,

*To serve our cause, if heaven should prove uncivil,
We'll humbly crave assistance of the devil.*

So till another occasion, I remain,

Reverend S I R,

Your most humble servant,

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S. T.

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N. B. By *church, clergy and churchmen*, I do not mean those of our gown in general, but only those chosen vessels that are chiefly zealous for our *power*, and our *dignity*, and our *riches*. And in this sense I desire you, reverend Sir, to understand these words throughout my letter.

THE
CURATE of WILTS
HIS
Second LETTER

To the Reverend

Dr. *S N A P E*:

O R,

Reasons against the Bill now depending
in the House of Commons.

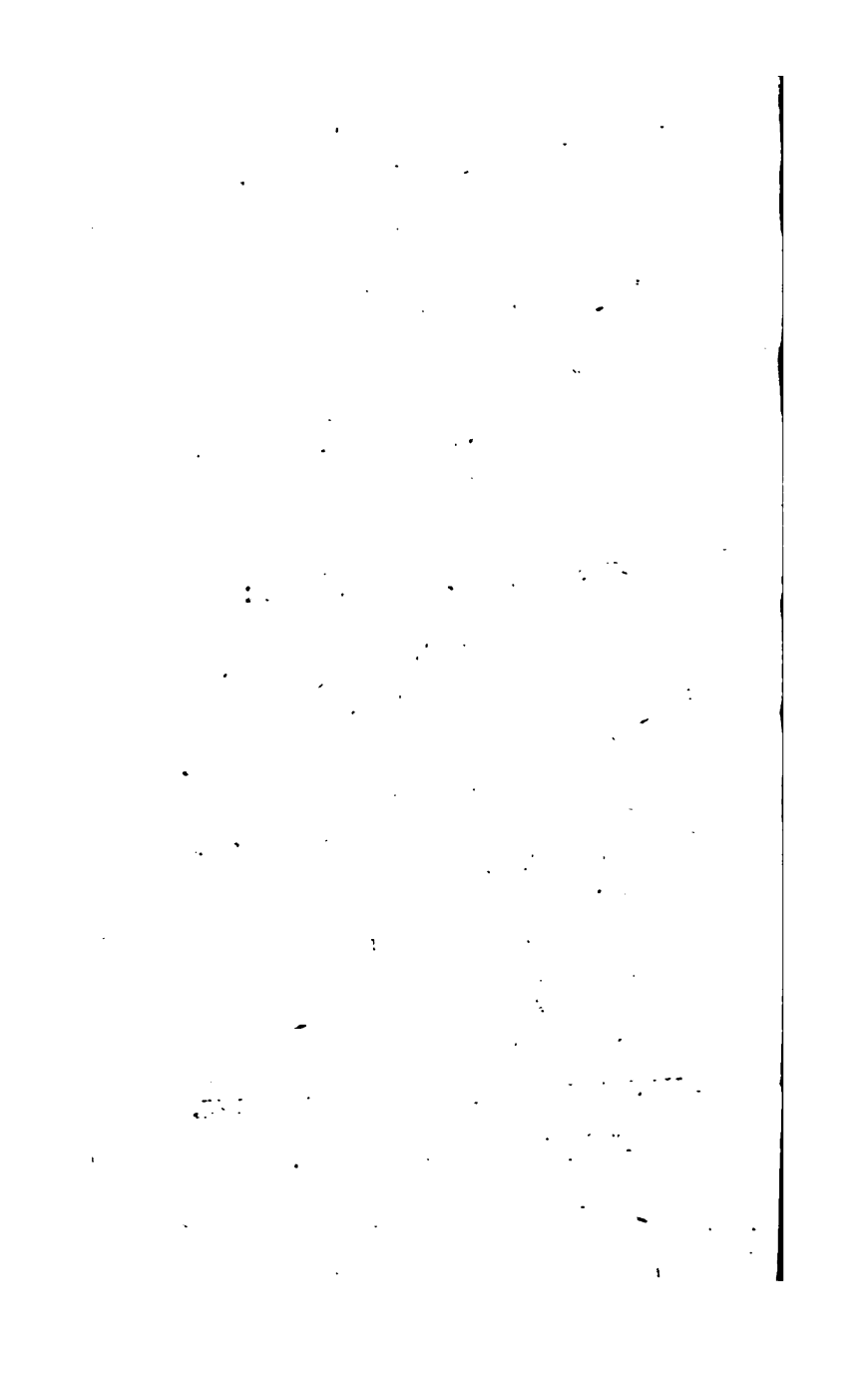
B E I N G

A Full Answer to the Bishop of *Bangor's* Late
Book, Entitled, *The Common Rights of Subjects*
defended.

W H E R E I N

The Divine Authority of our Church Establishment,
and the Necessity of Continuing Penalties on *All*
Dissenters from it, are demonstratively proved.

First printed in the Year 1719.



THE
CURATE OF WILTS
HIS
Second LETTER

To the Reverend

Dr. S N A P E.

Reverend Sir,

THE lord bishop of *Banger* having replied to our worthy brother *Sherlock's* most learned and consistent vindication of those locks and bolts of our excellent church, the *corporation* and *test acts*; and believing that *great man* is now perfectly tir'd with the *low* and *tedious* work of answering his lordship; I shall, in his defence, and under your patronage, fully confute, not only all his lordship has said in his last book, but all he has at any time said, or shall at any time here-

D 3

after

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after say, in *defence* of the *common rights of mankind*; and shall shew that all national churches have and may deprive men of as many of those rights as they think fit; and in order to it, may make use of any means, tho' never so improper, even of what his lordship calls a prostitution of the holy sacrament; and may inflict any penalties on those, who, agreeable to those common rights of mankind, dare to disagree with any such established national church.

I say, *reverend Sir*, I shall do all this, in an address to you; because, how well soever the *master of the temple* may have defended these points, or any other very *foreign* to them, in the course of this debate with his lordship; I know that *modest* writer will readily consent that your character should be most conspicuous in the close of this controversy; and, notwithstanding his indefatigable pains, would gladly be *now* not so much as thought of, that you may finish gloriously what you at first so sagaciously begun. Therefore, that I may not rob you of any applause, at the same time I revive your name in the world, I shall borrow my main argument from a passage in your *second letter* *; and which, I think, continues in every edition.

* P. 60, &c.

Having in the former letter unanswerably made appear that our succession of bishops is uninterrupted from the apostles, and that your position, that they are vested with the *same* powers, is therefore undeniably true: I believe you doubt not of my abilities for the present undertaking; wherein I shall maintain another of your remarkable assertions, and on which, as I shall make appear, the whole stress of the controversy depends, *viz.* 'That ever since miracles ceased, the temporal powers were commissioned by Christ, in their stead, to aid and assist his spiritual vicegerents, the church.' From whence it will plainly follow, that the religion established by SUCH temporal powers, that is, the *ecclesiastical constitution of any realm*, is of equal divine authority, as that which obtained by the power of miracles. [I have dignify'd the word *such* with capitals, that every reader may see I intend to draw no conclusions hurtful to the church, when I consider the temporal magistrate as Christ's commissioner: For I desire here it may be remarked once for all, that his commission is only valid, when 'tis exerted in aid and assistance of Christ's spiritual vicegerents, the clergy.]

I shall not concern myself how far this argument extends, or what influence it will have

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on churches established by *Mahometan* or *Pagan* temporal powers; but at present shall confine what I have to say to our own ecclesiastical constitution, established by *Christ's* commissioner, the civil magistrate: And shall shew that the bishop of *B.* has widely mistaken the principle upon which this establishment, which he calls the *reformation*, was settled; which was, not *that* of every man's right to judge for himself; but *that* of the temporal magistrate's right to judge what establishment to settle: And therefore, that all, who are subjects of the temporal magistrate, ought to be the subjects of such his ecclesiastical establishment. The argument, as I have collected from your book, stands thus.:

Christ commissioned spiritual vicegerents to act under him; to make *new laws*, &c.

To enforce which new laws, miracles were sometime continued in the church.

But miracles ceasing, Christ commissioned likewise temporal vicegerents to aid and assist his spiritual vicegerents, in putting their *new laws* in execution; and to add *civil sanctions*; by virtue of that commission.

And that civil governors have this commission from Christ, of being *nursing-fathers* and,
nurs-

nursing mothers to his spiritual vicegerents, and of punishing all dissenters from their settlement; you plainly prove by an evident prophecy, and from the christian example of *David*, who hated right fore the enemies of the church, even as though they were his own enemies.

To apply this your account of Christ's settlement of vicegerents, spiritual and temporal, to the ecclesiastical constitution of *England*.

Our bishops (or clergy) are uninterrupted successors of Christ's spiritual vicegerents, delegated by him to make *new laws*, &c.

At present there are no miracles to support their *new laws*.

Therefore our temporal powers are commissioned by Christ to aid and assist the spiritual vicegerents, the clergy, &c.

Accordingly our temporal governors have added *civil sanctions* and penalties, in aid and assistance of the *new laws* enacted by these Christ's spiritual and temporal vicegerents.

And how conformable our practice is to the behaviour of the *Psalmist*, needs not to be mentioned; for we *hate right fore all. who dissent from us.*

I know, *Sir*, that many arguments and objections have been brought against the temporal magistrate's power in religion; and that 'twill be said this example of *David's* cannot be urged to christians, who are commanded to *love their enemies*; yet, I doubt not, but you have a sufficient answer to every such little cavil. In the mean time, the reader is desired to observe, that in defending ecclesiastical constitutions, 'tis not so much as pretended that the laws of Christ, (which are the christian religion) but the *new laws* of his viceregents, (which are the establishment) are to be defended. And how necessary their defence has universally been thought, may be judged from the rigour with which all opposers have ever been treated. For as you say, † *On what would his lordship have our church depend? On God's providence, will he say? On the promise of Christ?* I admire your answer to such defenders of an established church: * *A very glorious encouragement, I confess; a security that cannot fail!* No, my good lord of *Banger*, we know better the means of securing establishments, than to admit of any rights in common to mankind, which we imagine may endanger

† *Snape's 2d Letter*, p. 62,

* *Ibid.*

the church's: And as our brother *Sherlock* has *learnedly* proved, bolts and bars are a far stronger, and therefore a far better defence, than reason or argument, or any of Christ's promises.

As to what his lordship has urged, that the same methods of defending established churches would as effectually have prevented the spreading of christianity itself, and would have prevented the reformation obtaining at all, and will prevent it where it is not: I briefly answer, that his lordship's objection, with respect to christianity, is entirely foreign to the purpose: For the question is not, What would favour or prejudice *christianity*; but, What will favour or prejudice the *church*? And as to the reformation itself, 'tis plain, and must be so acknowledged by us, that at that time Christ's temporal vicegerents acted too much against the *church*; and might possibly have ruin'd the *church*, if the spiritual vicegerents had not exerted themselves, and prevented its going farther. But however that was, 'tis certain, that the reformation itself was began by the temporal magistrate's power, supported and carried on by the magistrate's power, and carried on no farther than the magistrate's power permitted.

I know

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I know, indeed, there were many persons then, as well as before, who claimed a right of private judgment: But that right was so far from being the foundation of the reformation, in *reality*; that, when the civil magistrate had effected the reformation, that right was not only not allowed, but every man, who differed in the least from any established church, was declared, as before, a heretic or schismatic. Nay, at the time of the reformation, when the temporal viceregerents thought fit to take off odium from some, who before were deemed the schismatics, and to declare them Christ's spiritual viceregerents, in the room of the displaced ones; this gave little countenance to the right of private judgment; the men who obtained this favour being only those, whose known principles agreed with the doctrine and worship established by the temporal powers. They knew better things, than to *leave every man to make the best of his bible*; which was only left in fact to be consulted by every man in order to support what was then established, not to discover any thing contrary to it. Which I think undeniably plain from hence, that notwithstanding mankind have generally, by the licentious use of scripture and reason since the reformation, seen the falsity of many doctrines then established, they have not yet
had

had power to make their general judgment cancel such established doctrines; for fear lest the right of private judgment being allowed, it might shew many *mysteries* to be only those of iniquity; and prove dangerous in the issue to the power of the priesthood.

And, I believe, *reverend doctor*, we may challenge any one to shew that this foundation-principle, as his lordship calls it, has met at any time, or in any country, where the reformation is established in one national church, with better treatment, than at first: Nay, so far are Christ's *spiritual* viceregents from at all approving it, that I challenge any one to deny that it has not met with much worse, where the temporal *aiders* and *assistors* have not restrained the hands of the church?

From all which it plainly follows, that ecclesiastical constitutions, however reformed, are so far from allowing this right consistently, or owing their settlement to this right, that they have done all in their power to banish such a right out of the world; which, if once admitted, they have thought might endanger every establishment in it. 'Tis not dean *Sherlock* alone, but every writer in *England* against dissenters, who has ridiculed this right; and most foreign protestants, as well as papists, have

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have treated every claimer of this right with the highest reproaches, and sometimes with the severest penalties.

'Tis true, we do not always lodge this right solely, or at all, in the temporal powers, when we argue on this head ; but we constantly and uniformly keep it out of the hands of private men, when disputing with schismatics : Nor have any been so weak as to assert this claim equally for all men, but in disputes with the Roman catholicks ; which was owing to not considering the reformation as the effect of power, rather than of the prevalence of truth. For however truth might then accidentally prevail, our concern since has been rather for the excellent establishment of bishopricks, deaneries and other emoluments of the church that remained to it, than for any of the doctrines determined to be true at the reformation. Nor have we at any time deviated from this regard ; for tho' it is certain, that most of the doctrines then settled, we now disbelieve ; yet we have appeared, at all times, with great zeal against every private innovator, who either would not implicitly subscribe our church's articles, and submit to her determinations ; or who, after such subscription, has dared publicly to question their truth. This be-

behaviour of ours proceeding not from our own approbation of the doctrinss, or dislike to the principles avowed by such persons we condemned; but from a fear lest the integrity of those persons should lead them on farther, and thereby lay open the pales of the church, in such a manner as to admit others to enjoy its good things. And I doubt not but I could produce such instances of our zeal on these occasions, as might sufficiently deter others from daring to scruple or contradict any decision of the church. Nay, if our hands were not now tied up, and the temporal powers did not refuse their necessary aid, his lordship of *Bangor*, might feel ——— more than I shall say at present.

Upon the whole, 'tis manifestly obvious, that all established churches, the reformed as well as romanists, have denied this right of private judgment to all their members: And if enquired into, 'twill be found likewise that all synods and councils have determined at all times against the allowance of this right; and have censured and condemned every man, who has been known to make use of it, contrary to the judgment of any established church: Nay, 'twill be found, upon examination, that even many of those who have contended for it, have
have

have afterwards given it up, and disclaimed it, and sometimes have wrote and acted violently against it. So prevalent is the force of truth—or something else.

I come now to consider the *sacramental test*; which was made for the farther securing our ecclesiastical constitution, when we had the aid and assistance of Christ's commissioned officer, the civil magistrate: And I doubt not but his lordship's account of that will be found equally repugnant to truth, with his account of the reformation.

As to what is said about prostituting an institution of our blessed Lord's to a purpose of this world, which was ordained solely to a purpose of another; I think, *reverend Sir*, it has likewise no place in the present debate: Nor if it had, I cannot see it will answer any purpose of his lordship's in that part of the argument I am about to refute. For admitting such an act of parliament as the *test act* is, to be a prostitution of a law of Christ; I believe his lordship will not deny but the legislators at that time, might pass such a law: Nor can I see that his lordship has proved they could not enact it for one of the *contrary* ends Dr. Sherlock has assigned, unless
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not, by any *power* of his lordship's, at all influence established churches. To be a christian, his lordship will find to be one thing, and to be a member of an established church, another; and sometimes, another very different from even the possibility of being a christian.

However unchristian therefore persecution may be in itself, yet when 'tis thought necessary by an establishment for self-defence; or however profane, the prostituting an institution esteemed by all christians the most sacred: Yet when Christ's temporal vicegerents see either or both of these necessary, for the self-defence, or pleasure, of his spiritual vicegerents; they become commendable, and fit to be defended by such great men as the worthy dean of *Chichester** has shewn himself throughout the present controversy.

I confess while I was writing the above, I was not so fully satisfied in your proof of the commission Christ has given to his spiritual vicegerents, and temporal vicegerents, to make *new* laws so seemingly contradictory to his own: But as I doubt not of your capacity to make that appear, I shall proceed in justifying whatever shall be done by such commissioners.

* Dr. *Sherlock*, late bishop of *London*.

I shall

I shall next *reverend Sir*, consider the necessity of *civil penalties* on account of *mere differences* in religion; whereby all men may see the unreasonableness of repealing any law, which enacts any such *penalty*; I mean the unreasonableness at present of repealing the *occasional and schism acts*.

To prove the necessity of such penal laws, I need only call them *self-defence*, (as the judicious Dr. *Sherlock* has done;) and 'twill be sufficient. Every man has so feeling a sense of self-defence, that 'twill justify the knocking a heretic or schismatic on the head, as easily as the excluding him from an office: And therefore our dissenters, instead of complaining of the *moderate* penalties now laid upon them, should thank God our apprehensions of self-defence have not made it necessary to imprison or murder them. For what may'nt we fear from those wicked people, who will not submit to Christ's commissioned vicegerents, if they should get power, and fancy themselves vicegerents too, and go on to fancy, that for their self-defence they might persecute us, who would then necessarily dissent from their *new* laws, because we are sure we are now in the right.

The objection against force being a proper means of persuasion, we readily admit. But then this objection is so far from condemning, that it approves our practice. For as our design is self defence, it must be allowed it is very likely to prevent persuasion; and therefore very likely to prevent any heretic's or schismatic's return to the church, who generally are fond of truth and conviction, and who, as I have observed before, if in the church might make mad work. I own the case of those men may seem very hard to *all* who have not a due regard to the self-defence of the church; but *that* duly considered will clear up all difficulties. For at the same time that we shut schismatics out of the church, and punish them for their being so, and use the most probable means of keeping them out; we weigh what dangers might accrue to the church, and for her self-defence *only* we thus punish such malignants.

'Tis to be presumed that a very reverend prelate had well pondered this scheme of church-self-defence, when, instead of consenting to the repeal of any of her securities, he would have guarded her by new penalties, from suffering any of her members to innovate even in the most speculative points. He doubtless
well

well considered how much the peace of the church depended upon curbing the unbounded use of reason ; and therefore gravely and wisely proposed to stop all enquiry, thereby to secure her quiet and repose.

In short, *reverend Sir*, all penalties, *negative or positive*, if used for the good of the church, are proper means, and fit to be used. By them we keep all the offices, and consequently all the incomes, of the church, in the hands of good churchmen ; that is, of men who know how to value them : Thereby we keep good churchmen in the state ; that is, those in it, who augment rather than decrease our power : And thereby, in way of self-defence, all the blessings of this world are equitably taken out of the hands of others, and secured to those of the church.

I know this last method of denying to others the same rights with us churchmen, and which, as you say, is only a *negative discouragement*, has been ridiculed by our adversaries as impolitic ; and I have lately seen a paper, * (whose continuance may prove fatal to the church ; as it encourages what the church has always most discouraged, *free-thinking* and free en-

* *The Free-thinker*, Dec. 22, 1718.

quity;) which has asserted this *half-persecution* to be *the height of folly*; and has proved that if that be justifiable, the *inquisition* is more so. To which I reply; that all persecution, as I have proved before, is allowed to be justifiable, if thought necessary for the self-defence of the church. At present *moderate* penalties are thought sufficient; at least no more can be obtained from the *aiders* and *assistors*, the civil powers: But if we should see danger encrease, (and our enemies cannot deny but we see danger, at least as soon as it appears,) the clergy are a watchful guard, and would soon give the alarm; and, if they had interest enough with the magistrate, would not fail to augment their securities, and carry on their self-defence, till they should not be upbraided with doing things by halves.

To prove this, I need but mention the conduct of a vigilant churchman even while our *Sion* sits in tears, and power is kept too much out of our hands. No sooner did he hear of the spreading of latitudinarianism, by condemning the *abuse of confessions of faith*; but he publishes a *letter* * to prohibit the author preaching in any of the *French* pulpits: He has

* See this *letter* in Mr. *Rey's* account of *French* persecution, *appendix*.

not recourse to the *low* method of reason and argument; but exerts authority, and gains the heretic. And we have seen, but a few days since, the same great man's care for *our most holy faith*, and for the *peace and quiet* of the *church*, in a *circular letter to his incumbents*: Which being writ with singular perspicuity, I refer the reader to it.

So that those who insult our lenity, may see from hence, and other instances I might bring; that, if we had sufficient authority, they might have less reason to sneer at our forbearance. The disobedient of every kind would then feel the full force of self-defence; and be taught more modesty than to think differently from what is established. For though *mere opinions* can never be hurtful in themselves to any society; yet in the *church* they are equally punishable with the vilest practices; as they betray an opposition in the judgment to the determined sense of the church, and thereby bring her *authority* into question; which, next her *wealth*, is the great thing to be contended for.

You see, *reverend Sir*, the many reasons there are to continue the laws now in force against dissenters: How necessary they are for

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the self-defence and security of all that's valuable in the church; and the imminent dangers it would be exposed to, if these laws were repealed. Dissenters would then be thought as honest as churchmen, and as capable of places of profit and trust; and thereby a liberty be given to all men to think differently from the judgment of our ecclesiastical constitution, without their fear of losing any thing by it; and how many doctrines and practices of our church may then be departed from, let every true churchman think of with horror.

We believed indeed, that the old substantial reason *that it is not now the time*, would have prevented even the attempt of a repeal; but seeing that has not had its usual weight, but the bill is gone through one house, I have thought it necessary to urge all the other arguments that can be urged to hinder its success in the house of commons; and I doubt not of your thanks and the thanks of all staunch churchmen, suitable to my service.

Perhaps that part of my letter about the *sacramental test* may be thought needless, as the clause was rejected in the upper house, which related to it: But though nothing should be attempted farther in its repeal, I thought

thought proper to press the arguments on its side, as far as I could, that all persons may see how well the topic of self-defence will bear out any established church, in whatever it shall do for that end.

But let us suppose, that other reasons should prevail with some in the house of commons, and that not only the clause relating to the *sacramental test*, but even another clause of the most extensive nature, should be admitted into the bill; what dreadful outcries might we not raise! That you may the better judge of what I mean, I shall insert the clause as 'tis handed about in print.

“ **W**HEREAS in a late act made
 “ *primo Gul. & Ma.* for exempting
 “ their majesties protestant dissenting subjects
 “ from several penalties, &c. there are several
 “ restrictions and limitations, whereby divers
 “ of his majesties peaceable and good subjects
 “ are left incapable of the benefit of the said
 “ exemption: Therefore for the ease and
 “ quieting the minds of all such his majesty's
 “ good protestant subjects, be it enacted, &c.
 “ that every onewho shall, instead of the several
 “ subscriptions and declarations therein re-
 “ quired, declare and subscribe his unfeigned

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" assent to, and belief of, the holy *christian*
 " religion, as contained in the scriptures of
 " the *old* and *new* testament, and of the *creed*,
 " commonly called the *apostles creed*, and shall
 " also take the oath, &c. and make the decla-
 " ration against popery, in the said act requir-
 " ed ; shall have the full benefit of all the said
 " exemptions by that act intended, in the same
 " manner as if he had performed all the con-
 " ditions and qualifications by that act hither-
 " to required ; any thing in the said act or in
 " any other acts to the contrary in any wise
 " notwithstanding.

You cannot but see to what a dreadful state
 we must be reduced, should such clauses obtain.
 The church would, by the repeal of the *test*,
 be left much more unguarded, than by the
 repeal of the *occasional* and *schism* acts ; because
 many of the schismatics, having too much
seeming conscience, will still be kept out if the
 latter obtains, rather than prostitute an insti-
 tution of Christ's to the purposes we have
 appointed : But by the removal of the *test*,
 and the admission of the *other* clause, our
 church will be so laid open, that *christianity*
 alone will be made the test. There will then
 be an end of the power of *some* over the con-
 sciences of *others* ; and men will be led to form
 their judgments, only by the laws of the gos-
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pel, and the motives of another world. If such pernicious clauses should be enacted, the disturbers of the church's *repose* would have no other restraint, but the precepts of christianity; and all uniformity in sentiment would be abolished, but what arises from *truth*, and a *sincere* enquiry after it. By these and a few such means, christianity would be reduced to the condition, in which Christ left it; and all the many, and frequently contrary, decisions of the church in all ages given up to the unerring decisions of Christ, of which then every man will be allowed to judge for himself, and not the church for him. Christ's spiritual viceregents must then submit to Christ; and his temporal viceregents would then no longer aid and assist them in putting their *new laws* in execution. In short, there would then be an end of your famous scheme of viceregents.

Let the melancholly consideration of these things, bring you, *reverend doctor*, from your seat at *Eaton*; and make you suspend your arduous application to the *classics* for a while, to attend the sinking cause of the church. I might alarm you and others on this occasion, in your own pathetic manner, awake, ye *Snafes*! ye *Sherlocks*! ye *Canons*! ye *et cetera's* of the *committee*! Are ye all asleep

when your honour and your darling scheme of church-power is at stake? Is there none of your fraternity that have *capacity, leisure or inclination* for this necessary work? For shame, let us not sit still; but let all tongues and all pens be employed in the honest purpose of *self defence*; we know all things are lawful, if expedient for the welfare of the church: Let some of us therefore cast calumnies on the great author of this mischief, that enemy of our power, and asserter of the liberties of mankind: Let us endeavour to make him appear solemnly perjured; as injuring the character of our Lord and Saviour; and as destroying all the common notions of right and wrong, if they happen to stand in the way; or else let us exhibit him to the populace, as a whining, complaining, low and tedious writer, fit only to make women and children weep; or else as artful cunning and prevaricating; and all this, only in order to advance his own worldly interest and advantage.

Let us not be weary in well-doing; but let us go on clamouring for the church, and reproaching all we dislike as enemies to it. Let us talk loudly of secret designs among the dissenters; represent them all as schismatics; and all schismatics in a state of damnation; and then

then when we have shut them out of God's favour, 'twill not be difficult to make them hated by men.

Above all, let the pulpits ring, on the great anniversary of this month, of the mischief perpetrated in the times of confusion; let us charge it all on the dissenters, and on any part of them that we would have appear most odious; and let us charge it upon them, not as accidentally done by them, or as provoked to it by any ill usage; but as necessarily flowing from their principles; which we cannot then render too monstrous: Charge them as hating all government; as enemies to all christians, but those of their own party; but, especially charge them with an hereditary aversion to every individual of the church of *England*.

By these and the like means the populace may be wrought up to madness; and we know what effects their madness produced in the late *pious* queen's time, the great temporal viceregent of Christ; and what devastations followed all over the kingdoms; till at last she was so enlightened as to part with her ministry. But of that I need say no more; it being fresh in every one's memory. Let us comfort and encourage ourselves in

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the use of the same means ; and though any bill should now pass prejudicial to our ambitious hopes, we know not what changes we may be able to effect : At least if we are not able to work upon the inflexible temper of the present temporal vicegerent, we shall by these *godly* methods have the pleasure of embarrassing and perplexing his affairs, as we did those of his predecessor king *William*.

You see, *reverend Sir*, I have done all that can be expected from a *country curate* ; I have defended, upon your principle, the divine authority of our established church, as settled by Christ's commissioners the civil magistrates, in aid and assistance of his spiritual vicegerents, the clergy. I have enforced the necessity of submission to such vicegerents upon the same principles ; and have shewn that these commissioners of Christ may make use of any means, however unchristian, or improper, to secure such establishment ; and may inflict what penalties they please on all dissenters from it, especially if they apprehend it necessary for their self-defence : To strengthen this argument, I have shewn it to be the practice of all churches, the reformed as well as popish, whenever they have at any time thought it proper for their self-defence ; And have, lastly,

lastly, added what advice I think proper to be taken in the present juncture, drawn from my observations on the practice of all *true* churchmen.

I have only to request of you and our brethren of influence, in return for these my labours, that, for the benefit of my bookseller, you would recommend this small tract to all young clergymen and others, who preach *charity-sermons* in the city of *London* and parts adjacent, as containing proper hints for such composures. Which will not only forward that *laudable* design; but will much oblige

Reverend SIR,

Your humble servant,

Jan. 3. 1718-9;

R. P.



A
L E T T E R

TO A

F R I E N D

In *LANCASHIRE*,

Occasioned by a

R E P O R T,

Concerning

Injunctions, and Prohibitions, by
AUTHORITY;

Relating to some Points of RELIGION,
now in Debate.

by Benjamin Hooley, serj.

First printed in the Year 1714.

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2079. 2080. 2081. 2082. 2083. 2084. 2085. 2086. 2087. 2088. 2089.

A
L E T T E R

To a Friend in *Lancashire,*

Occasioned by a *Report*, concerning *Injunctions* and *Prohibitions* by *Authority*; &c. *

SIR,

YOUR *last letter* expresses a much greater concern, than I have ever discovered in you on any other account. You tell me, that you have assurances from many in your parts, whose intelligence is very good, that there is certainly a design on foot, amongst the right reverend fathers of our church, to procure from the civil authority, such directions, injunctions, or prohibitions, as may effectually put a stop to the debates, which have been of late revived concerning the doctrine of the

* That this tract was written by bishop *Headsly*, the judicious will see from the style, and manner of pointing, peculiar to the bishop: and I add, Dr. *Bishop* declared bishop *Headsly* to be the author.

trinity.

trinity. Upon which, you expostulate with an unusual warmth: You declare the *protestant cause*, (considered as distinct from the *popish*,) to be left destitute of all support; and you conclude, at last, *Tell it not in Gath, publish it not in the streets of Ascalon.*

I do not at all wonder, that you abound in *those* parts with all such *reports* and *stories*, as carry any reflexion along with them upon the *protestant cause*. You are *there*, perfectly surrounded with *those*, whose business it is to invent, propagate, and improve, every thing of that sort: As we have multitudes about this *great city*, to help forward the same work; and to distract the minds of men from seeing or improving the present glorious view of public happiness, which God hath wonderfully placed before our eyes. Nor do I wonder that you, being persuaded of the *truth* of the *report*, should grow warm within at the uneasy thought of such a procedure; because I know you to be a follower of *Christ*, and not of any *master* upon *earth*; and a *protestant* entirely upon that avowed principle of *protestantism*, viz. that *all men have a right to consult the Scriptures, as the rule of their own faith and practice*: Which I have heard you often affirm *they cannot be, unless a perfect liberty be left for debating*

debating their true sense, in all points, and at all times equally.

But you will excuse me, if I do not express the same warmth of concern, upon the same occasion ; when I tell you that I am so far from believing the *truth* of the *report*, that I cannot help being confident that it is *one* of those numerous *inventions*, with which our *popish adversaries* are continually at this time loading our *cause*, and keeping up the *spirits* of all in their *interest* : which, I must tell you, would not be at the height they now are at, without the greatest *art* and *management*.

Can I possibly admit it into my thoughts, that my *lords* the *bishops*, than whom no men, upon that *bench*, since the *reformation*, ever more thoroughly understood the *cause* of *religion* ; or strenuously opposed every degree of *popery* and *antichristianism* : Can I ever believe that *persons* of such understanding, and such integrity, can possibly be embark'd in such a design, which must in effect destroy the weight of all their own *arguments* against the *church* of *Rome* ; and not only weaken, but root up the foundation of the *reformation*, itself ? Far be it from me, to entertain even the *suspicion* of it. Their *lordships* understand the *grounds* of *protestantism* too well, to think of such *methods*.
And

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And the undeniable evidence of such *arguments*, as we have often discoursed over, is too clear to *them*, I verily believe, ever to permit them to attempt the remedy of any imagined *evil consequences*, at the expence of the *christian cause* itself.

If, when we write against the *papists*, it be true, that *points*, tho' settled by all *ecclesiastical authority*, may and ought to be freely discussed and debated : shall it not be true, when *we* ourselves are concerned ?

If we are glad, in all our debates with *them*, to fly to the *Scriptures* ; and to declare *them* to be the rule of faith : Shall we not permit that liberty to all others ; which we can only claim, as it is the common right of all *christians*, and not as any thing appropriated to ourselves ?

If the *Scriptures* be the rule of my faith, indeed and not in words only : How can it be so, if I be not to judge for myself, what is in it, and what is not ? For, if the *determinations* of others, are to bind me up, or tie me down, to such a particular *interpretation* ; then, it is not the *Scripture*, which is the rule of my faith ; but those *determinations* of others.

If

If the *Scripture* be the *rule of faith*, and upon this very account, an *appeal* constantly to be made to it : How can this be done, if *debates* and *enquiries* are suppressed ?

If it be the *rule of faith*, it must be so equally in *all* points. If not in *all* points ; then in *no* point. And, if in *all* ; how can any one or more points be excepted, without giving up the whole ? or declaring, that it shall be our *rule* or not our *rule*, as we think fit ?

If we be not *infallible* in *all* things ; we are not *infallible* in any *one*. And so reciprocally, if in any *one* ; then are we equally *infallible* in *all*. But *infallibility* is laughed out of countenance, in all our disputes with the *Reasonists*. How is it possible then, to except any one *article*, or *point*, out of the number ; without recurring to that *infallibility*, which we so justly explode ? can it possibly be affirmed, that, tho' we are not *infallible* in *all* our decisions ; yet in *this* we are : and therefore ordain, that no farther light, can, or shall, break in upon us ?

If we be not *infallible*, we may *err*. If we may *err* ; we may *err* in all points, equally. If in *all* points ;

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point; then in *any one* particular point. And so, if we allow debates, and enquiries, in any; there is no remedy: We are obliged, in conscience, to allow them in *all*.

If the whole *protestant cause* be so entirely built upon this, that it would never have subsisted in the world, but by calling all private persons to the *Scriptures* themselves; and persuading them to labour after a right understanding of them: How can this same *cause* possibly be defended, without the same allowance in *all* cases equally, of an *appeal* to them, about the true meaning of the same *Scriptures*? Or, was that *method* only a sort of *scaffolding* in religion; to be pulled down again, as soon as the *fabric* was erected to our mind?

If the *Scripture* be the *rule* of *faith*, in all things; then, all *christians* have a *right* to consult and debate about the true meaning of this *rule*, in *any* particular point. And, if so; then, what is it to except *any* particular point out of the number; and to declare that, about *this*, there shall be no farther *debates*, but all shall acquiesce in the *settled interpretation* of the *texts* that relate to it: What, is this, I say, but to say that the *Scripture* is not the *rule* of *faith* to private persons in this particular point?

If

If it be constantly objected against the *Romanists*, as the greatest evil, that they shut up the *Scriptures* from their *people*; and only dish out to them such *doctrines* as themselves please: How shall we ever be able to object this again; or to insist upon the wickedness of it; if we ourselves, as to this *one* point, do the very same? I say, *the very same*. For, what is it to suppress all *debates* about the true meaning of the *texts*, relating to one *article*; but, in truth, to shut up those particular *texts*; as effectually, as if they were not in being? And what is it to shut up any particular *texts*, but to declare in effect that we have a right to shut up *all*, whenever we see fit?

When *texts* of *Scripture* are in words proposed to us, with such a particular interpretation affixed to them; and such a particular *doctrine* deduced from them; and no allowance for *debates* about them: Can they be said, any more properly, to be *texts* of *Scripture* for our use; than if these *interpretations*, or *doctrines*, were given out to us, without *them*? And, do not the *words* of *Scripture*, in this method, become only a *form*, for *decency* and *ceremony* sake?

If

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. If the *papists* decree you shall not debate the meaning of those words, *this is my body*; but take them according to the *determinations* of their church, to signify a *change* into *Cbrist's* natural body, without any farther *enquiries*; and the *protestants* declare this to be *unchristian* and *unwarrantable*: With what grace can they themselves afterwards decree, that tho' this be so unchristian, in *this* point, or any other that we ourselves do not admit; yet, in the *doctrine* of the *trinity*, it is very just, and right, and very christian, to ordain, that no one shall dispute about any particular *text* relating to *this*; either, whether it be found in any *manuscript*; or, supposing it genuine, what is the true meaning of it? Let the things be placed together in the *light* of *comparison*; And then, let the *difference* of *procedure* be found out, if possible?

Is it *truth*, or *falsehood*, we desire to preserve? If it be *truth*; it stands not in need of such *methods*. If *falsehood*, it ought not to be taken care of.

Is it *truth*, or *falsehood*, we desire to guard against? If *falsehood*; this *method* is rather likely to make it pass for *truth*, when it is not permitted to shew itself. If *truth*; then we are self-condemned. Or rather, remove all
debates;

d. bates; and *truth* and *falsehood*, are only so many *syllables* put together, signifying no more than *established*, and *not established*.

If it be said, that it is reasonable to suppose *such points* well settled after so many years possession; the *papists* must have the advantage, in this argument; who have so much greater *length of time*; to justify their most absurd *tenets*: besides that they must be now, *true* or *false*, just what they were at the beginning of the *reformation*, when they were settled: unless *time* can alter those two properties; or turn *fallible* men into *infallible*. It is allowed that no one *interpretation* of any *text*, or doctrine drawn from it, can be settled *infallibly*. And therefore, whatever it be, it *may be false*: and therefore, it is always certain, it may and ought to be examined. Especially, this must hold good in all *points* of a *nice* and extraordinary nature, settled all at once, before there could be opportunity for exact and diffusive *enquiries*.

Is it all at last to be resolved into *peace*, and *quiet*? This removes *truth* or *falsehood*, out of the *question*. And, if this be a good argument for *civil discouragements*, and *prohibitions*; then blessed be the *inquisition*, which most effectually keeps all things quiet: and blessed be that
Stupidity

stupidity and ignorance, which flourisheth under such discipline. Let us recall *these* into the world: and all will be as silent, as *desolation* itself. But, indeed, we know how to give a *substantial answer* to this, when the *papists* urge this. We can reply to *them*, “ This is a false
 “ notion of the *peace* of the *church*; which
 “ consists not in the *unity of profession*, but the
 “ *unity of affection*. God requires of us, to
 “ search into his *truths*: and we are to be
 “ judged at last, by our own judgments. We
 “ have a *right* to be borne with, in our differences of opinion from one another. For
 “ the *event*; we leave it to God. But we
 “ think nothing can preserve a true *peace*, but
 “ the *allowance* of *mutual debates*; and the
 “ *exercise* of *mutual forbearance*. This ends in
 “ *charity*. The other *method*, besides the
 “ making *truth* and *falsehood*, and all *religions*
 “ equal, promotes *peace* only by promoting
 “ *ignorance*; and consults *quiet*, at best, no
 “ otherwise, than as the destroying all *civil*
 “ *liberty*, prevents tumults. The *remedy*, besides the *scandal* to *religion*, is worse than
 “ the *decease*. Nay, it is but a partial unequal
 “ *remedy*. It could not prevent the *reformation*, (which was a terrible breach of the
 “ *peace* of the *church*, in the *Romanists* opinion;) nor many other lesser efforts. It
 “ falls

“ falls hard upon none, but such honest souls
 “ as will still dare to speak what they think
 “ *truth* and *right*. But it is a glorious advan-
 “ tage to all, who are more concerned about
 “ *preferments*, than about *true religion*.”

This, and much more, can *we* say, when
 the *papists* preclude us from all *religious debates*,
 under the poor pretence of *peace* and *quiet*.
 Let us apply this to ourselves, in God's name :
 or, let us give up our cause : which must have
 sunk in its very infancy, if this *argument* had
 been good in itself ; or thought good by us.

How much more might be added ? And,
 can you possibly imagine, that my *lords* the
bishops, who have the clearest view of what is
 of importance to the *protestant cause* ; and,
 what is more, who are truly *christians*, not to
 be moved to promote *truth* itself by any me-
 thod, which *Christ* himself never pointed out
 to them : Can you possibly think, that such
 men ; *protestants*, and *christians*, with that
venerable good man at their head, whose life
 hath been worn away by his unwearied zeal
 for the *protestant cause* ; will ever consent,
 either to give to *popery*, in any *one* point, a
 fresh strength, by inculcating an *implicite faith* ;
 or to recede one step from the *spirit* of that
 VOL. III. F *gospel*,

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gospel, by which they firmly expect to be
judged.

No, my friend, I hope *better things*: I be-
lieve *better things*: I am confident of *better*
things. My lords the *bishops* are as sensible, as
any men living,

“ That the *protestant cause* must suffer ex-
“ ceedingly in the world ; when it is still ob-
“ served that their *main and boasted principle*,
“ is maintained and celebrated by them, only
“ when they are writing against *popery* ; but
“ upon any other occasion, is utterly forsaken
“ and forgot by themselves. They know per-
“ fectly well,

“ That if we be not *infallible*, we are *fallible*;

“ That if we be *fallible*, we are *fallible* in
“ all points ;

“ That if we be *fallible* in all points, we
“ cannot possibly claim an *indisputable autho-*
“ *rity in any* ;

“ That if the Scripture be the *rule of faith* ;
“ it must be so, in all points, at all times, to
“ all persons, equally.

“ That

“ That if it be so ; it must *lie open* equally,
 “ at *all* times, to *all* persons, to be enquired
 “ into in *all* points.

“ That, if *debates* be not allowed in any
 “ one, or more, particular *points*, about the
 “ right *sense* of it ; it is in those *points*, *but up*,
 “ as an inaccessible *arcanum*.

“ That no answer can be given to the *pa-*
 “ *pists*, by those, who, in any instances, or any
 “ degree, deny *that* to others, which they
 “ themselves claim from *them*, as the *common*
 “ right of *christians*.

“ That any sort of *indisputable authority*,
 “ call it what you please, is the same, in effect,
 “ with absolute *infallibility* ; and every degree
 “ of *submission* to it, as *such*, is the very same
 “ with *implicite faith* and *subjection*.

“ That the *peace* of the *church*, in any good
 “ sense, can never come in competition with
 “ the *common right* of *Cristians*, or their *liber-*
 “ *ty* of debating *points* of *religion* : But, in a
 “ true sense, is *then* at its height, and in its
 “ glory, when *mutual forbearance* flourisheth ;
 “ and not, when a *profound silence* is esta-
 “ blished.

“ That all *parties*, and all *persons*, see and
 “ own this to be the *truth* of *God*, when they
 “ themselves are *undermost* : And therefore,
 “ that they must acknowledge it to be so,
 “ when they are *uppermost*.

“ That *religion*, and every thing relating to
 “ it, is a matter of *choice* ; and not of *force*.

“ That the *reformation* was wholly founded
 “ upon our *common right* to debate about the
 “ *sense* of *Scripture*.

“ That the *christian religion* can approve
 “ of no method of propagating *truth*, con-
 “ trary to this.”

These things, I say, are perfectly well
 known to my *lords* the *bishops*. And that is
 enough to assure you, that your neighbours
 the *papists* have no reason to insult you, upon
 what you will, I trust, find to be a *calumny*
 raised, and propagated, by their own friends.

Believe me, their *lordships* have good sense,
 learning, integrity, zeal for the honour of
 christianity, as well as the protestant cause, in
 a most desirable degree. They are *christians* ;
 they are *protestants* ; they are *Britons* ; they

are

are the supporters of *true liberty*: Which is but a word in *jest*, if the chief and most desirable *liberty* of a *reasonable creature*, be either taken away, or broken in upon. And, therefore, I say, depend upon it, it is not conceivable that men of such *characters*, can espouse a *design*, of which I will say no more than I have already said.

I am,

Your most sincere friend,

and humble servant.

London, Dec. 15,
1714.

A
TRUE CHURCHMAN'S
REASONS

For Repealing the
Corporation and Test-Acts,
As they now stand a necessary Qualification for
Civil and Military OFFICES.

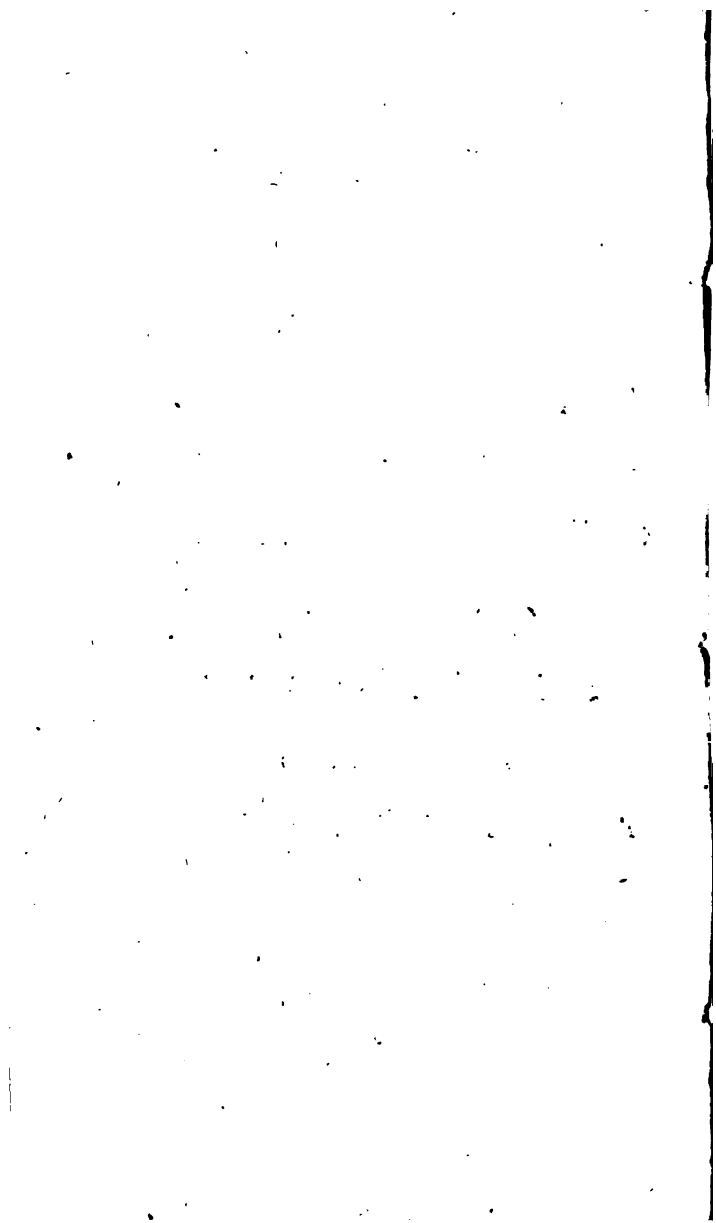
With an humble
PROPOSAL

FOR MAKING

A proper Test in the room thereof.

In a LETTER to a Member of Parliament.

By the Author
First printed in the Year 1732.



A

TRUE CHURCHMAN'S
REASONS

For Repealing the
Corporation and Test-Acts, &c.*

S I R,

IN compliance with your request in yours
of the 13th instant, I have under-
written given you my deliberate thoughts
on our brethren the protestant dissenters,
who, you tell me, are endeavouring now to
obtain a repeal of the acts above-mentioned,
which I shall give you with the utmost plain-
ness, freedom, and sincerity, and as fully as
my other affairs and this short letter will allow
me to do it; and as one that considers, and

* Dr. Hoadly, when bishop of Salisbury, gave
the manuscript of this tract to Dr. Avery, with
his leave to publish or suppress it, as the doctor
thought fit. The stile shews the bishop to be the
author.

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ought to remember, that my advanced age will soon bring me to give an account (among all my other actions) for what I now say to you, and that before the most righteous judge of the world.

I need not spend a great deal of time to remind you of the narrow views of those who got those acts pass'd, nor of the dreadful consequences of the vile profanation of the highest and most sacred institution of the only Son of God, and the only innocent Son of Man; who commanded, that till he comes to judge the world, it should be done (not as a qualification for a civil or military office) but in remembrance of him, and of what he did and suffered for us: in which solemn remembrance is necessarily implied, and required of us, the strongest love, the greatest gratitude, and the most exact obedience to our glorious Redeemer, and to all his commands, that we are capable of. Now, my friend, can you suppose that our great Lord and Saviour ever intended that this high and most solemn feast with himself, should be laid in common to his declared enemies, as well as to his professed friends.

You tell me *Judas*, that betrayed him, was one who received the sacrament with the other

other eleven, which eleven were our Lord's profess'd and real friends: I answer, I grant you that, and more, even that *Judas* at the same time was known by our Lord, (who, as he was God, knew all things) to be his enemy. But it is plain, by the solicitous examination that the disciples made of themselves, upon our Lord's assuring them, that one of them would betray him; that *Judas Iscariot* was a professed lover of his Lord, whom he knew, by his astonishing miracles, by his holy life, and heavenly doctrines, was God and Man, and, in that capacity, came to pay a most perfect obedience for us to the laws of heaven, which the first *Adam*, and all his race then in him, had rebelliously broken; and to lay down his life for all that ever had, did then, or should thereafter believe on, and accept of him, as their liege lord and sovereign. In all probability, if *Judas's* villainy and hypocrisy had been known to the eleven, (as it certainly was to our Lord) *Peter* and the rest would have endeavoured to have defeated his intention of betraying him: but then how would that prophesy of him be fulfilled, that his own professed and familiar friend should lift up his heel against him? And how could his being betrayed by a professed friend be such a part of his humili-

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ation for us, as was before-hand told us was to be a mark of his being the true Messiah? Who, though his heel was to be bruised by the old serpent, yet was he to break the devil's head or power, and so gloriously and triumphantly to deliver, by his life and death, all that believe on him, and accept of him as their king, out of Satan's kingdom, and to restore them to the favour of God, and put them into a much happier and securer state for ever, than they would have been, if their first father and common representative had never joined with the apostate angels in rebelling against heaven. Though I do not believe that infinite wisdom, power, and goodness, could ever be at a loss to find out a way to save a rebellious world, (with a salvo to his own justice, which had declared, that man should die if he rebelled) yet since the offended majesty of heaven thought fit to take this method, and to accept of an equivalent, that he might honourably save us, I cannot help believing that it was the best way that even infinite and united wisdom, power, and goodness, could contrive, most expressive of his love to his enemies, who had once borne the image of their maker, and the most likely method to turn our fixed enmity of God into love, admiration, and gratitude. The Almighty

mighty himself seems to speak thus when he says, *What could I have done more than I have done?* But did any of the apostles of our Lord ever encourage or force openly profane swearers, drunkards, whoremongers, liars, covetous persons, (or idolaters) and the like, to partake of the sacrament of the Lord's supper. Are not all such declared to be children of the devil? Do not such as are thus openly wicked carry the mark of the devil in their foreheads? And did ever Christ, or his apostles, make the table of the Lord the table of devils? Did the greatest king that ever was on earth, the king of kings, ever make a law, that if Judas would not partake with him of that his supper, he should no longer hold his office of treasurer? No! far from it; even Judas's then eating and drinking with our Lord and his disciples, were (in him) voluntary actions, though foreseen by the God that made him, and whom he betrayed: and having no Test-act to extenuate his crime, his wickedness was the greater, in betraying his very best friend with a kiss; for he made the same profession of love, gratitude, and obedience, that the eleven did. If you will but seriously and impartially consider this thing, I am sure you will conclude (as I have done for many years)

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years) that the prostituting the most solemn and sacred supper of our Lord to secure places of profit or honour, to those who, though ever so notoriously wicked, will (by complying with the said act) intitle themselves to be called church men, is a high affront to God, and a foul blot upon any christian church that encourages such a corruption, of which church I profess myself an unworthy member: but one that mourns for all our imperfections, and would rejoice to see all christian churches firmly established and flourish, upon the doctrine and practices of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself (and no other) being the chief corner stone. I hope our stability will never depend on the prostitution of the most sacred institution of our Lord, to serve secular and unjustifiable purposes. But you suggest, that you believe the protestant dissenters, in their present endeavours, (or at least many of them) are not so much aiming at the honour of their and our great lord and master, and at removing this blemish from our church, as at being capable of having civil and military offices. And you seem to fear, that if the king's hands should be untied, and he should have liberty to employ as officers protestant dissenters, as well as churchmen, (as all our
kings

kings ever, by the aforefaid acts, have had to employ a few of them in the navy) that, generally speaking, they being (in appearance at least) soberer men than the generality of our officers that pass for churchmen, by receiving the sacrament as the said Test-acts require, though they are seldom to be seen in a church at other times, it will put very great difficulties on many who are of our church: they must either make great friends, and grow sober and diligent, which is not very agreeable to many of them, or they cannot get into an employment so easily as they can, now there are fewer competitors; I have observed (you say) by many of us, who have liberty to employ what servants we please, that we choose to trust a protestant dissenter, that we are well assured is an honest, sober, diligent man, rather than one who cannot have such a recommendation, though he tells us he is a true churchman: and they are frequently chosen as constables, yea, as wardens of our churches, or any other troublesome office, provided it has no profit attending it.

To this I reply, that I will not answer for all the dissenters; that their chief views are at the honour of our Redeemer, and at the removing of a blemish in our church. It is probable

probable many of them aim chiefly at being upon a level with us in civil and military affairs; and, for my own part, I cannot see any reason to depress them. They agree with us in all the substantials of our holy religion; and as to lesser and indifferent things, that we all agree are so in themselves, I wish to God they were left so in their use, and that none would take on them to lord it over God's heritage. They are as good friends to king *George*, and his faithful ministers of state, as you or I, or the best churchmen can be; and they are the only friends that the true church of *England* have, and can depend on. We all profess we are journeying towards heaven; why then should we fall out by the way? Is it any detriment to us to have our truest friends able to assist us with their persons and purses? Do they not readily join us in all elections, when our civil and religious rights depend on such elections? Did they not stand firmly by us in our greatest distresses, when popery, slavery, and all sorts of debauchery, threaten'd to invade and destroy us, and our religion? Did we not then promise, in our danger, that we would come to a temper with them? And what have we ever done for them, except giving them leave to worship God in
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the manner that they believe in their consciences is most pleasing to him; which is giving them nothing but what their Lord and ours had given them before: for, as they always preached Jesus Christ, and him crucified, though they did not follow us, our passionate predecessors erred as much in silencing and persecuting them, as our Lord's disciples did, who were for silencing and ejecting all who cast out devils in his name, only because they did not follow them. If the dissenters, in their turns, have been guilty of the same fault towards us, their faults will not excuse us in continuing to do that which we own was a fault in them: for their Lord and ours has strictly commanded us to do by all men (not as we are done by) but as we would be done by; to love one another as we love ourselves, and as he loved us, and by his great apostle *Paul*, to give no occasion of offence; to lay no stumbling-blocks in the way of our brethren: if we are strong, not to offend our weak brethren, even by eating of meat; though that is a thing undoubtedly lawful in itself, much less have we any power to force our doubting weak brethren to eat meat, which they scruple, or cannot digest, or to abstain from it, when they think it lawful and expedient; or to make such things

terms

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terms of communion with us, which our Lord and Master has not made so, as the church of *Rome* take upon them to do by the laity. Woe be to any that shall add to his words; I mean, that shall lay any stress, or occasion any schism, by their own additions, or weak and doubtful illustrations or explanations of God's laws. Our blessed Lord, and his apostles, never refused to own any as members of the visible christian church, who repented of their sins, and professed their belief on him, as the great Messiah; and such and their families were baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: and dare we cast such out of our church whom God has received and owned? Let the enemies of christianity unchurch them if they please; for my part I never will, but will always endeavour to do by them as I would have them do to me. But you ask me how shall the state be secure? And shall we not endanger the protestant interest if we lay aside this sacramental test, and so put *Papists, Atheists, Deists, Muggletonians, Antinomians, Arians, Socinians, French* (or false) prophets, and the like enemies to christianity, into places of power and profit. I answer, much better than the government or the church are now secured against them, by preferring

ferring none but such as produce a certificate, signed by one of the ministers and three or four principal and noted worthy members of the church or congregation of which he is a member, (without fee, gratuity, or reward) testifying that such person is a profess'd protestant, and attends the worship of God in such particular protestant congregation when in health, and his affairs do not call him abroad; that they believe him to be a good protestant, and a sober, diligent, religious, and honest man. A severe penalty may be laid on the counterfeiting and altering such certificates; and also on any that shall subscribe any of them, whereby they give any person a character contrary to what they know such person deserves. Such a method as this would soon empty our taverns, ale-houses, brandy-shops, and fields, and fill our churches and protestant congregations on *Sundays*, and other days, when our Maker is to be worshipped: and many a poor wretch, that now never goes into a church, but to get or keep his qualification, may, while he is seeking for loaves and fishes, be caught in a net, which our Lord has commanded to be spread for men. And, in a little time, our armies and navies would not be terrible to sober religious men, as they have been for many

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many years last past, by reason of the most horrible, execrable, and new-invented oaths, curses, imprecations, and other abominations, that are now heard and seen in our armies, navies, cities, towns, countries, villages, rivers, &c. where wickedness is generally and very easily learnt, by the examples of men in power and authority. This repeal (in all probability) will sooner reform the manners of such as have any hopes of ever being more than what they now are, or that would not be always servants, than a thousand reformation-sermons, while there is nothing more required to qualify a man for an office, than his receiving the sacrament of the Lord's supper three or four times a year, whether he be fit for it or not. If he neglects, he must lose his place, and be put under other very severe penalties. If he eats and drinks unworthily, not discerning the Lord's body, he eats and drinks damnation to himself: and if a poor minister, that knows the officer that offers to receive it is a devil, or a child and slave of the devil's, and trembles at the thought of profaning the Lord's table by admitting him, should dare to refuse him, while in this deplorable condition; this poor minister (as the law stands at present) may be ruined by such refused officer: therefore
whatever

whatever views some may have in reforming what is amiss, it can never be too soon to amend whatever dishonours God, and the holy religion he has instituted, and which we profess.

As to the last question you ask me, viz. Whether I think this is a proper time to address for an amendment of this law, which has kept so many out of our churches, and embittered their spirits against us for treating them, as we should not like to be treated by by them, if the tables were turned. I answer, That in my conscience I think it a proper, and the most proper time, for the following reasons.

1. That none but the present time can properly be called our own: the time past is not, nor will it ever be ours again; the future is not, and never may be ours: and we are commanded to work while it is day; and whatever our hands find us to do, to do it with all our might.

2. We have now a most excellent king on the throne, and, blessed be God, he is happy in a faithful ministry: and it must certainly be a very pleasant thing to him to make all his dutiful and loving subjects easy, by be-
flowing

showing favours with an impartial hand to those who equally, or most, deserve them, and are fittest for them. And we have no reason to doubt that such a prince will, with pleasure, strengthen the hands of his truest friends of the established church, who have been found, ever since the happy revolution, to be too powerful for all his majesty's enemies among us, (though very numerous and mighty too) when we are joined by the hearts, purses, counsels, and hands of our protestant dissenting friends. We are not so vain as to imagine that we, who are his majesty's best friends of the established church, are (by ourselves) numerous, rich, and strong enough to gain a majority of hearty friends to his majesty, in our approaching elections, if our enemies have art enough to breed a misunderstanding between us, by making our only friends believe, that we of the established church, who are true friends to his majesty, would fain continue the greatest blemish in our church, on purpose to keep them out of their natural and civil rights, who cheerfully and equally contribute, by their persons, purses, and labours with us, to support that happy establishment in the state, that God has blessed us with, and to render his sacred majesty easy in the administration of justice.

And

And therefore, if we had no other motive, but our own true interest and preservation, we ought to do our utmost to enable and oblige our brethren, the protestant dissenters, to join us in our common defence against our common enemies, which I have before-named. I wish there were no other names or distinctions among christians than that of Protestants and Papists; but then there would not be so many exercises for charity or love, and mutual forbearance, as there are: and if we have not those graces, and shew (on all proper occasions) that we have them, whatever we call ourselves, and whatever other angelic qualifications we may be possessed of, we are nothing, but as sounding brags, or a tinkling cymbal.

I believe, there is not a true churchman in *Great-Britain*, either clergyman or layman, that soberly considers the mischief and dishonour the misconstruction (or misapplication) of the said Test-act has done, and will do, to the church of *England*, but heartily wishes (as I do) that it were restrained to what was said to be the true intention of it, when first enacted; (or rather exchanged for a much better test; whereby no man will be allowed to witness for himself, as he does by the present

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sent test) I mean, to keep out of places of trust and profit, only those who are enemies to the protestant religion.

P O S T S C R I P T.

BEFORE any of my brethren or adversaries undertake to reply to what I have said on this subject, I desire they will duly consider and answer the following queries..

1. Is our Almighty Saviour (the Lord Jesus Christ) supreme head of his church, or not?

2. Will he at last most righteously judge the world in his united nature, as true God and true Man, and punish all the obstinate transgressors of his laws, or no?

3. Has he wisdom and authority sufficient to institute ordinances and sacraments in his church, and to declare the sacred ends for which he institutes them, or does he stand in need of the assistance of any mere creature, to add any thing to his appointments, or designs, and to make those, their additions, essential thereto.

4. Will he not severely reprove, and add all the plagues that are written in the Book of God, to them that shall add any thing of their own to his word ?

5. Has not our Lord, in his last supper, told us the end of our sacramental eating and drinking his body and blood, viz. that we are to do it in remembrance of him ?

6. If we receive that sacrament once, twice, thrice, or oftner, in a year, to qualify us for any civil or military employment, or to save 500 l. that may otherwise (if we have it) be torn from us, for any one omission, and to preserve our natural and civil rights, of being capable of suing for our just dues, of receiving and enjoying a legacy, and the like. Are not these additional ends to the only end our Lord has told us we ought to regard, when we come to eat and drink with him at his table ? Or can it be a sufficient excuse to tell the great judge of the world, in the last day, that notwithstanding we made bold to prostitute his institutions to serve our secular purposes, when men commanded us so to do, yet we did not wholly forget him at such times, though we cannot deny but that the chief design we then had was to serve our temporal interests ?

7. Is it not persecuting the ministers of our own established church, to compel them to administer that holy sacrament to such as they know are unfit or (if left to their liberty) unwilling to receive it, by such penalties as they are not able to bear; which penalties the person refused has always in his power, by the Test-acts, to bring them under, to the utter ruin of the conscientious ministers and their families?

8. Is it not too severe upon our civil and military officers, to subject them to utter ruin, if they happen to forget receiving the sacrament so often as the Test-acts require? Or if they, for want of their pay in due time, have not money to satisfy two witnesses, who must be able to testify their receiving it, as often as the said acts require?

9. Did the corporation and Test-acts ever preserve our established church from the dangers and invasions we were threatened with, by a popish king and a popish pretender?

10. Can it be supposed that a papist, who knows the pope will sell him pardons for any sins, especially if they are committed to serve holy church, will make any scruple to receive
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the sacrament in our established churches three or four times every year, if he can but thereby secure to himself a profitable office, and be screened from utter ruin by informations and prosecutions on the acts before-mentioned ?

11. If the corporation and test-acts are not grievances to those who have no more than the bare name of churchmen, and desire no more than the name ; are they not very great grievances and persecutions to every conscientious member of the church of *England*, that has always been a constant and worthy communicant at the table of our Lord, and is, in all respects, fitly qualified to serve his king and country in some civil or military employment or other, but dares not accept of any public office, because he thinks in his conscience (as I do) that he would sin against God if he should receive it for any other end than what our great Lord has appointed, viz. in remembrance of him ; much more if his secular end should eclipse or annihilate the sacred and only end our Lord had in that solemn and sacred institution ?

12. Whether those members of our own established church, who have (since the Corporation and Test-acts were in being) accepted

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of civil or military employments, and till such their acceptance, were constant communicants in our church, and received the sacrament of our Lord's supper, only in remembrance of him, but to keep such their offices, and to preserve themselves and families from utter ruin, have been overcome (contrary to their judgments) to receive the sacrament three or four times a year, in obedience to the said acts, as well as in remembrance of their Lord; and, while they have been so receiving, have doubted that they offended God, by prostituting the most sacred things to secular and common uses: I say, would they not (if they had any fear of God before their eyes) have rejoiced, in being delivered from such temptations and snares, as those acts were to them?

For my own part, I always thought, that in the worship of God, whatsoever I do, if I believe I ought not to do it, it is a sin in me; and that if I do that, which I do but doubt is a sin, I expose myself to damnation.

Read what bishop *Heady* has writ on this subject: read what the great apostle *Paul* has writ on this head: read the Corporation and Test-acts: and read some Considerations on repealing the Test act, printed in the year 1732.

A
L E T T E R
T O T H E
Right HONOURABLE
T H E
Earl of NOTTINGHAM.

Occasioned by a late MOTION
made by the *Archdeacon of London*,
at his Visitation for the *City Clergy*
to return their Thanks to his Lord-
ship for his ANSWER to Mr.
Whiston.

Thomas Ashmole

By a CURATE of *London*, Dr. SYKES.

First printed in the Year 1721.

Ac. 96



A
L E T T E R
T O T H E
R I G H T H O N O U R A B L E
T H E
E a r l o f N O T T I N G H A M.

M Y L O R D,

AS your lordship's great name commands a particular regard to be paid to whatever your lordship thinks fit to publish, no wonder that most men were pleased to see your lordship engaging yourself in a controversy of so much consequence to christianity. Persons of your lordship's station have this advantage above other writers, that they always speak *with authority*. I was not therefore much surpris'd to see our famous *university of Oxford* returning to your lordship their *public thanks* for the service you have done in relation to the controversy concerning the trinity; because principles or doctrines

G 4 recommended:

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recommended to the world by a person of your lordship's *quality*, and with that *seriousness* and *gravity* with which your lordship has wrote, are always embraced so readily, and are assented to with so little hesitation, that 'twill be deemed presumption by many to make doubt of any thing maintained in your lordship's book.

When the university of *Oxford* had set the example, it could not be thought absurd or unreasonable to attempt to bring the clergy into the same measures. How far 'tis *usual* for the *London Clergy* to address their thanks to any person who has vindicated any doctrine of christianity, I know not. But as I could not come into the motion made by the *arch-deacon* of *London* on that occasion, I must beg leave to lay before your lordship and the world, the grounds upon which, I think, those are to be justified, who refused compliance with him.

'Tis not my design to enter into the merits of the controversy concerning the trinity with your lordship; but only to point out some natural consequences of several principles in your lordship's book, which they must avow and approve, who return your lordship their thanks for your answer to *Mr. Whiston*.

When

When such great bodies declare their sentiments of any *book*, the impression is stamped so deep, that few can resist the weight of such authority. Yet who would imagine that in the very book so much recommended, the lawfulness of persecution should be asserted; and such notions maintained, as are inconsistent with the propagation of that christianity which your lordship has defended?

The *first* thing, in which I am forced to differ from your lordship is this, that you approve of the *advice* of *Mæcenas* to *Augustus*, and recommend it to the world as right and good. 'It was the advice of *Mæcenas* to *Augustus*,' says your lordship, 'never to suffer any *innovation* in *religion*, because the *peace* of the *state* depended upon it: that prince had peace in all the world; but what *disturbances*, what *miseries*, innovations in religion have caused in *this* nation, the history of the *last* age informs us sufficiently; and how fatal the *feuds* and *animosities*, occasioned by pretenders to religion, in this may be, no man can *foretell*, every good man fears.' p: 157.

I readily acknowledge that this was the advice of a very great *statesman*; and I cannot but observe, that *statesmen* and *politicians* of

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all religions generally espouse these notions and regulate their practices accordingly. *Mæcenas* (who was a *brut*) gave the advice to *Augustus*, "That he should follow
 " *constantly the established religion of his country,*
 " *because all innovations in that would foment*
 " *sedition in the state, and be a means to*
 " *subvert his government:*" and as if this were an *axiom* in *politics*, that *statesman* is scarce to be found in the world, who does not embrace *this* notion. Mr. *Hobbes* (who found mankind bad enough, but left them much worse) has worked up a system of *state-religion*, whereof the main principles are, that 'the interpretation of all laws as
 ' *well sacred as secular* depends upon the
 ' *authority of the supreme power.*' That 'the
 ' *civil powers* have a right to command the
 ' *manner of honouring God.*' That 'obe-
 ' *dience* is due to the sovereign in all things,
 ' *as well spiritual as temporal.*' And *lastly*,
 that 'whatever is commanded by the sovereign
 ' *power is commanded by God himself.*' Now admitting these for *principles*, it plainly follows, as Mr. *Hobbes* has more than once deduced, that 'the supreme power has a right
 ' *to prohibit* such doctrines to be taught as
 ' *he judges improper:*' that 'every one com-
 ' *mits a crime, and may be justly punished for*

‘the same, who persuades men to receive a
 ‘new religion:’ that ‘dissensions in religion
 ‘are the causes of war, and therefore the
 ‘*established religion*, (or that which the su-
 ‘preme power commands) ought to be fol-
 ‘lowed.’ Such are Mr. *Hobbes’s principles*;
 and such the *consequences* drawn from them!

Statesmen and *politicians* seldom pay too
 great a regard to religion; and as seldom to
 the truth of things: ’tis usual therefore for
them more particularly to condemn men as
factions, and their writings as tending to
disturbances, if they recede a hair’s breadth
 from common opinions. Right or wrong,
 true or false, is frequently not so much the
 point, as how it suits with a particular in-
 terest. Whether this conduct answers the
 end proposed, (tho’ I cannot but think that
 the continuation of sects and factions in re-
 ligion is entirely owing to these *political ar-
 tifices*) whether this conduct, I say, answers
 the end proposed I shall not inquire; since
 ’tis not my design to consider this advice in a
political view, but whether it be *right* or
wrong, fit or unfit in itself to be given.

In this light I must observe,

1. That if this advice be good and right
 in itself, it plainly follows that all, who at any

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time by the reformation of any errors seem *innovators* in religion, ought to be punished, as *disturbers* of the peace of the public. Now this advice being given but a little before our Saviour came into the world, 'tis very unfortunate that it should be given at such a time, when it must have entirely *prevented* the spreading of his doctrines, and the teaching mankind that the gods which the heathens worshipped were no gods. Our blessed Lord ought, in consequence of this advice, to have been punished as *perverting the nation*, as *innovating in religion*, and as sowing sedition and discord among the people, such as it seems 'no man could foretell, every good man might fear.'

2. This advice must necessarily have prevented the *reformation* from popery had it been followed at *that* time, because that was a remarkable instance of *innovation in religion*. Suppose that any statesman had advised *Henry VIII.* or *Edward VI.* or queen *Elizabeth* in that manner, and they had admitted it, must not the superstition and idolatry of *Rome* have continued the *established religion of this country*? Must not *we* have been kept in the dregs of corruption still? And must not the light of the gospel have been shut from our eyes?

3. If

3. If this be right, then all those princes that have followed this advice, have acted a righteous part in *persecuting* to the utmost all that have attempted to *innovate* in religion. The late king of *France* did right to dragoon his *protestant* subjects; and the duke of *Savoy* justly drove out the *Piemontise*; and every prince that is most barbarous and cruel, acts an upright justifiable part, and what is most acceptable unto God, when he refuses to suffer any such under his government, whom he may charge with disturbing the peace of the state by not complying with the *established religion of the country*.

4. Every nation in the world thinks, or pretends to think, that the religion established amongst them is acceptable unto God; and that the way in which they pay their honour and worship is such as is *fit* and *proper*, and will draw down the blessings of heaven upon them. Every nation too has its peculiar orthodoxy, and a set of tenets, the truth of which it asserts as the words of God himself. 'Tis impossible that *all* these can be *true*, nay that every particular christian church can hold opinions contradictory, perhaps to their next neighbours, and yet be in the right. Or were this possible, sure we are that the *heathen* and the

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the *mahometan* nations, are in the grossest errors. If therefore it be a duty incumbent on every man to keep his mind open to truth, and to receive it when offered to him, the advice *never to suffer innovations in religion* must be *absurd in itself*, because it would be to prohibit a great part of mankind the knowledge of truth; and it would be to prevent the reception of the gospel in all such places where the benefit of it is not at present known.

Your lordship, I am sure, would not on any account propose a scheme so destructive to truth and to common christianity as this. But under a plenary conviction of mind that your lordship's notions are *true*, and that we of this nation are so happy as to have the truth *established* here; and that in consequence of that, *every innovation here* necessarily being for the *worse*, you think the advice to be just and right.

But then your lordship knows, that hitherto we have in vain been searching for a sure and infallible criterion of truth; that every nation, and every man, how erroneous soever, is orthodox to himself; and that those who are under the misfortune of error, are as positive and confident, as those who have truth on their side. 'Tis therefore of little consequence

quence in the present case; and in our present inquiry, whether one or another has the truth on his side; for whilst every body is fully assured of the truth of his notions, every body will plead the same right; and in the consequence, error will reap every privilege which truth itself can claim.

But your lordship not insisting on this, but on the evidence of fact for the reason why *innovations of religion* are not to be *suffered*; and *Mæcenas* (who was an *heathen*) pretending that an *innovation of religion* was the means to *subvert the government*, this will deserve our most serious consideration. And here,

It must be granted that *usually* innovations in religion have been attended with disturbances in the state. But then the reason why innovations in religion have been attended with feuds, and animosities, disturbances and miseries in the *state*, is, because the *state* intermeddles in that sort of property to which it has no right. The people always assert and vindicate *this*, as a first principle, that *'tis better to obey God than man*; and whilst that is allowed to be true, (which no body I think will *deny expressly*, tho' they may explain it away) whatever the consequences of it are, they will assert and maintain it. A man can
no

no more refuse his assent to truth, when it appears clear to him, than he can refuse to see the light at noon-day when his eyes are open. If therefore any state refuses to suffer men to change their sentiments, or pretends to hinder them from *obeying* what they think to be the *will of God*, opposition must be expected; and if disturbances ensue, they are not to be imputed to *change of religion*, (which has nothing vicious or evil in it, nothing that is disorderly and inconsistent with the public peace,) but to the ill conduct of such advisers: as that heathen *Mæcenas*, who refused to permit men to follow their own consciences in things pertaining to God and not hurtful to any man, and will have them obey *men* rather than *God*.

Innovations in *religion* have no natural or necessary connexion with disturbances or disorders of the *state*: and 'tis just the same absurdity to impute the one to the other, as 'tis to pretend that to alter a man's notions of worshipping God must *destroy* his private property, or at least must cause confusion in it. 'Tis evident that the one has no relation to the *other*, but let what changes you please happen in property, *religion* is the same; or let the ways of honouring God be altered, *property* is the same, except in the case where
a man

a man thinks to please God by parting with his property. But this does not affect the civil government, nor make the magistrate less able to do justice, or to secure his subjects in the enjoyment of their civil interests. When indeed the magistrate refuses to tolerate any who dissent from the *established religion*, oppression that instant begins: but as the cause of all disturbance is removed when oppression is removed, innovations in religion, where there has been no *persecution*, nor any attempts to enslave the subjects minds, can never affect the state, or *cause* any disturbances. When any state assumes a power over the consciences of its subjects, they are forced into a state of war with their civil government; and they continue so long in that state, as they are injured in a property over which the civil government never had any power. In this case the peace of the society is broke; but then 'tis not broke by those who *reform* from any *public error*, but by the magistrate, who assumes a power which never was committed to him. Nor are these evils, these disturbances, feuds, or animosities, chargeable on *innovations in religion*, but on *tyranny*, and *usurpation*, on unjust pretensions to power, and arbitrary dominion over the minds of men.

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At most therefore, innovations in religion, are but the *occasions*, not the *causes*, of disturbances to the state; and a man can with no more justice impute to them, as to the *cause*, the breach of public peace, than he can impute to christianity all that hatred and variance that has abounded in the christian world. Suppose a man should warn any one against the doctrines of the gospel, because they have unhappily occasioned much hatred, much dispute, and many abominable practices, which otherwise would not perhaps have been heard of. Would such advice be good and fit? Or ought any man, notwithstanding these accidental inconveniencies, to refuse his submission to it purely on those accounts?

There is not a greater, nor a more common imposition on mankind, than to assign a *wrong cause* of any event, and to argue from thence as if it were the *true* one. *Mæcenas*, I beg your lordship to remember that *Mæcenas* was an *heathen*, imputed to *innovations in religion* the great *disturbances of state*; whereas the *cause* of disorders in the public was something very different; either the persecutions which men had undergone, which upon occasion given they resolved to retaliate; or else some selfish interest which the pretence of religion served to cover. *Mæcenas* confounded therefore,

therefore, either artfully, or ignorantly enough, the *cause* with the accidental *occasion* of disorder; which is, as if any one now-a-days, should lay the hatred of nearest friends upon christianity itself; or charge enmity, malice and revenge upon that very gospel that designed to root those evils out. His advice therefore is wrong in every view; 'tis founded upon a very false principle; it naturally tends to prevent the propagation not only of truth in general, but of christianity in particular. It will justify all the persecutions for religion which have been in the world; and after all, it supposes innovations in religion to be the *causes* of evils, of which they are not the *causes*. Your lordship will judge if such advice is fit to be either given, or taken, or recommended.

A *second* point your lordship argues for is this, that because severe laws were made against *idolatry* and *blasphemy*, words which had then one clear and determinate signification in the *Jewish* dispensation, therefore the laws of any particular country may punish as idolaters or blasphemers, men who according to the different notions that prevail in different countries, may on different and perhaps contrary accounts be called by these names.

For

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For this your lordship thus argues ‘ If the
 ‘ Lord Jesus be a creature and you worship
 ‘ him, ’tis *idolatry*: if he be God and you
 ‘ deny him, ’tis *blasphemy*: and what punish-
 ‘ ment Almighty God ordained for both these
 ‘ sorts of offenders you know,’ p. 159.

The punishment in the *Mosaic* law for
 idolatry was *stoning to death*, and the same was
 inflicted for blasphemy, v. *Lev. xxiv. 10—23*,
 and *Deut. xiii. 1—10*.

Upon this your lordship proceeds, and
 asks this question; ‘ *What texts have you to*
 ‘ *quote for an exemption from those penalties, or*
 ‘ *at least such as the laws of the land inflict?*’

I answer, all the same texts which any
 religious and good man has to quote for an
 exemption from the penalties to be inflicted
 on the greatest of criminals. The *blasphemy*
 against which the penalty of death was de-
 nounced in the law of *Moses*, was a presump-
 tuous, irreligious, contemptuous reproaching
 or reviling of God. The *idolatry* against
 which the like punishment was denounced in
 the same law, was, the departing from the
 worship of the known true God to the wor-
 ship of the heathen idols or fictitious deities.
 Does your lordship now think, that because
 under

under the *Jewish theocracy*, God Almighty thought fit, by an express and particular command, to punish in such a manner these crimes, about the nature of which there was no room for dispute, and into the commission of which no Jew could possibly fall by a mere error of the understanding, that therefore the *civil government* in other nations, (affixing these names according to their own particular notions in disputable questions upon persons and things which have no similitude to those mentioned in the law of *Moses*,) may justly inflict by their own authority the like penalties with those commanded in the law of *Moses*? One man thinks Jesus Christ to be himself the One Supreme God; and worships him as *such*: another thinks Jesus Christ not to be himself *the One Supreme God*, but the *One Mediator between God and man*, and worships him as such a Mediator to the glory of the *One Supreme God and Father of all*. Does your lordship now sincerely think, that by virtue of the law of *Moses* against *blasphemers and idolaters*, one of these men has a right to put the other to death for worshipping Christ only as a *mediator*; and that the *other* has a right to put this first man to death for worshipping Christ as the One Supreme God? Each of them thinks he has an equal right

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right to call the other an *idolater* and *blasphemer*. One for giving *any worship at all* to a person who is *not* the One Supreme God and Father of the universe; and the other for worshipping as the One Supreme God, Him who is only the Mediator between God and Man. Your lordship easily sees what room here is for uncharitableness and persecution. By what methods shall this evil be prevented? The only remedy I can see is, that men would be careful not to *practice* themselves, much less to *impose* upon others, any thing in the *worship of God*, founded upon any particular hypothesis of their own, beyond what is very clearly and expressly commanded.

By this method, and by *this only*, might be cut off the very root and foundation of all uncharitable censures and wicked persecutions upon this head.

The *next* thing your lordship proceeds to, is to shew that those whom you call *Arians* can have no pretence to toleration considering the conduct of some heretofore called by that name.

“ With what face, says your lordship, can
“ *Arians* ask such favour from any who have
“ ever read the history of their *barbarities*.—
“ They

"They have taught us a lesson against themselves." p. 159.

1. Allowing it, my lord, to be never so true, that some in former ages called *Arians*, have been persecutors, and as *barbarous* as 'tis possible; yet the argument is no better, nor other than this,—Some monarchs have been tyrants, therefore monarchy is not to be endured. Or,

2. If this inference be true, some of those whom your lordship will call *orthodox*, have been at least as *barbarous*; therefore they also have taught us a lesson against themselves. And thus the circle may be run in accusing and condemning *all* sides, without any justice, or without any reason.

But this must not be passed over thus slightly. Not that it is of any consequence, who were the *first* persecutors, or who not, since the real debate is, whether *any* of either side have *any* right to persecute another: whether those that have the truth on their sides have more right to persecute those who are in *error*, than those who are in error have to persecute those that enjoy the benefit of truth. Yet because this evil is usually thrown upon those, who are *for the time being* called *heretics*,

heretics, I cannot but take notice, that if we consult the *ecclesiastical historians* we shall find that those whom your lordship esteems *very orthodox* were the *first* that taught the world the method of persecution; 'twas these that *first* brought in the *secular power* to drive those whom they called *heretics* out of the church. As soon as the *Nicene council* had condemned *Arius* and his opinions, the emperor *banished him*, and *Eusebius*, and *Theognis*, and *others*. He issued out an *edict*, that "if any book of *Arius's* could be found, it should be *burnt*: that if any one concealed any book, and did not produce it that it might be burnt, he himself should be put to death instantly." After this we find the emperor resolving to root out all sorts of *heresies*; and accordingly he issued out an edict 'against the *Novatians*, *Valentinians*, *Marcionists*, *Paulians*, and those called *Catapbrygians*, and in general all *heretics*, first, that they should not *dare* to have any *public meetings*: and that all the *houses* where they were wont to assemble should be taken away; then, that they should not *meet together privately*; and lastly that their *churches*, if they might be called such, should be given to the *catholics*. Their books likewise were to be searched for and taken away.'

Thus

Thus did the *orthodox* begin this detestable method against the *heretics*; which some of them perhaps when they grew in power, returned; and from that time to these *last days* has that impious course been prosecuted. But the *first* breach was made by the *orthodox*; 'twas they *began* to employ the *secular arm*; 'twas they *began* to *banish*; 'twas they *began* to hinder the public meetings of those whom they called *heretics*; and what wonder then when the tree of evil was planted, if it took root downwards, and shot forth upwards, and brought forth its natural fruit. If therefore the *lesson* be to be learnt against men of any denomination from this, that some of them also have been *barbarous* when in power, 'tis a *lesson* that all parties have taught those that have been *undermost*, and if some of them who were called *Arians*, behaved themselves in a cruel manner under *Constantius* and *Valens*, and afterwards in *Spain* and *Africa*, let others look into the *Theodosian Code*; and upon the persecutions of all that have had any odious name affixed upon them for 1300 years together, and see if they have any room to boast upon this head. Still this is certain, that persecution was *begun* by the *orthodox*; and one very remarkable difference appears throughout all our

church historians, that whereas the *creeds*, which those that were called *orthodox*, proposed and insisted on in all their *councils*, were always made the *tests* of parties; and in order to this they *always* contained some human doctrines, some particular inventions of designing men, some notion or other that was unscriptural; yet in the *creeds* proposed by those on the *other* side this temper was constantly observed, that nothing was ever put into them but what all might subscribe and assent to; the very terms were generally *scriptural*; nor did they attempt to put on a level the doctrines of men with the revelation of God.

Give me leave to add one remark more here; and that is, that as *Mæcenæ* was a *beathen*, and gave his advice to a *beathen*, it must have been to persecute *christians*, so had *Mæcenæ* lived in *Constantine's* time, and been what was called *orthodox*, his advice had been to persecute *Arius*; had he lived in *Constantius* or *Valens'* time, when the power was entirely in hands called *Arian*, (tho' there never was any *Arianism* imposed in their *creeds*) his advice to suffer no innovations in religion must have pushed on those princes to have destroyed the *orthodox*; and had he lived under *Lewis XIV.* not a protestant

ceeding, would rejoice to have their *false* opinions rooted up, and would rejoice that the *field*, i. e. the *church*, might consist of only good members; but our Saviour determines, that the *rooting out* of the tares, i. e. the violent casting out of false notions by *extremities*, ought not to be practised; but that good men should take heed, lest while they *gather up the tares*, they *root not up also the wheat*. Our Saviour has so explained this parable, that it cannot be much mistaken, when he tells us the *time when the righteous shall shine*, viz. not at present, but *then*, when the *son of man shall send forth his angels*, v. 43. plainly determining, that the *tares* should grow up with the *wheat* till the end of the world. Our Lord does not tell us that 'tis our duties to give *opportunities* to the enemy: he does not say that we ought to *lay ourselves asleep*, or that we should not guard against the enemy as much as possibly we can: but that we must use all such means, and only such, as are *right and just*, to prevent the growth of false doctrines; that we must not *tread down* the wheat in order, as we perhaps imagine, to root out the tares. A wise man will not take such measures to destroy a *weed*, as necessarily must destroy his corn; and this is what our Saviour only aims at.

Now

Now persecution for opinions is what must necessarily destroy the *wheat* as well as the *tares*, the truth as much as it can do falsehood. Where there is so much falsehood in the world, and that too in so much power, by this way of proceeding the *truth* must necessarily be rooted up. The *Mahometans* imagine, no doubt, that they are in the *truth*, and that christianity is a *tare* in their field; therefore they upon this principle are obliged to root it out. Amongst christians, the *papists* ought to root out the *protestants*, and the *protestants* to root out not only the common enemy, the *papists*, but likewise to arm each particular sect against its neighbours. What a scene of woe and desolation must this produce? Whilst such contradictory orthodoxy every where appears, every where must appear, store of *tares* to be gathered up and burnt, till at last *orthodox*, and the longest survivors of cruelty, must signify the same thing. But then upon the scheme of open toleration nothing is more natural and easy;

For here our business is not to *lay ourselves asleep*, but to watch; 'tis to *reprove, rebuke and exhort with all long-suffering and patience*. Every man has the right, which your lordship has used, to endeavour to convince gain-sayers. Reason is the weapon of rational

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agents, and never fails to be revenged on those who are enemies to it, that is, who either maintain an error, or even hold the truth in unrighteousness. With this fence we are to guard ourselves. And if the enemy surmounts this, and cannot be convinced, or is obstinate and will not, 'tis *out* of our powers to hinder the growth of these tares: we must do all that is *in* our powers to convince him, we must pray for him, but not treat his person ill; nor must we, to ruin him, make use of such arts as in consequence must ruin our own selves.

Your lordship will call this, perhaps, *giving an opportunity* to the enemy to sow the tares. But is it *giving an opportunity* when you watch and oppose him? When you spread the truth as fast as the enemy does his errors? When you refute or endeavour to refute his principles? But if you will not admit this for sufficient watchfulness, but think it necessary to make use of *force*, and the *secular arm*, 'twill be giving an opportunity still, or may be called so, till you come to the use of racks and gibbets; nor can any stop be put, till that effectual one of death itself is applied.

One reason which your lordship has made use of in your *prefatory* discourse for the printing

ing this book is, *'because it is not enough to believe with the heart, but with the mouth'* confession is made unto salvation; and not *'confessing the Lord Jesus before men, is next to the denying him.'* p. 3.

Your lordship, I dare say, will conceive a man, however erroneous, to give the *best* marks possible of his *integrity*, who suffers great temporal inconveniencies, (such as imprisonment, or the loss of a very creditable and handsome support of a family) for thinking, that *not to confess the Lord Jesus before men*, such as he conceives him really to be in himself, and in office and relation to us, *is next to denying him*. But notwithstanding *their integrity*, and *their fears* lest they *should be thought profelytes* to what *they* think an error of the utmost consequence, yet your lordship conceives, that the want of inflicting punishments on those you call *Arians*, for their notions, is *giving an opportunity to the enemy* which we ought not.

But my lord, the opportunity which your lordship fears should be *given to the enemy*, has been carefully guarded against; and *moderate penalties* have been applied, tho' these wholesome severities, as they have been called, have proved ineffectual. Mr. Emlyn was sentenced:

"nation, in contempt of the laws of the land, as well as of God, uncontrouled, without any animadversion—is unaccountable, both in prudence and religion." p. 158.

The reader is here told (with what justice your lordship will consider) that these whom your lordship is pleased to stile *Arians*, revile, trample on, and put to open shame the Son of God. Whence such a charge could arise I cannot conceive. Do they *revile*, whom they *adore*? Do they *trample on* that person whom they daily *praise*? Do they *put to open shame*, him, whom they *thank* for his kindness, condescension, love and benefits towards them? Surely this must appear very shocking, to say that a man *reviles* the being whom he daily praises, and *prays* to; for whose sake he daily suffers, and is ready to undergo the severest trial that can be inflicted. What are the marks of love, of gratitude, and of the most profound respect, if a readiness to submit to any temporal inconveniencies for any one's sake is deemed *reviling* and *contempt*? Should Mr. W. retort this charge on his adversaries, and openly assert that in consequence of their scheme, they *revile and trample on* the peerless majesty of the God and Father of all, sure I am, that every serious christian would detest the imputation, and think that religion suf-

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ferred more from such uncharitable censures, than it could do from the denial of any point, in which the Scriptures have determined nothing clearly.

There is but *one* point more that I shall trouble your lordship with, and that is on account of the suggestion which your lordship has made, that those who *are in authority have the real guilt of being* partakers of other mens sins, if they do not provide a speedy remedy to the evils your lordship complains of; for, *qui non prohibet, cum potest, jubet*: p. 158.

That a just and proper remedy ought to be applied to every *real* evil is readily acknowledged; and therefore I declared for the *only* remedy that appears to me to be consistent with reason and with revelation; and I as heartily desire that every man may be brought to see the errors of his ways, as your lordship does. But I hope I am not a *partaker of another's sins*, if I cannot come into a scheme of *persecution*; or if I cannot but think that the only proper method of dealing with reasonable men is conviction, and the pressing them with arguments from reason and revelation. This makes me admire at what your lordship alludes to, when you intimate that there

there is not at present given to the proper champions of our faith an opportunity to refute and reclaim [men] from their errors, p. 158. Are the clergy, my lord, now restrained from searching into Scripture, or from searching into antiquity, in order to find proper materials to refute any error? Are they restrained from writing or from publishing their thoughts? Or what way of refuting and reclaiming men from error is prevented by his majesty? True it is, that 'Defender of the faith is not an empty title,' *ibid.* Yet permit me, my lord, to express my wishes, that if the faith can no way be defended but by fines, imprisonments, or deaths, that it may ever continue an empty title. 'Tis better that that should be an empty title, than that ever it should be maintained by that which is antichristian; and which if prosecuted by every crowned head, must make the christian world a scene of blood and cruelty.

But by comparing what your lordship says here, with what you have said p. 156. 'tis easy to see that your lordship blames 'those who are in authority, that do not advise his majesty to give the fathers and pastors of our church leave to speak for themselves, and in deed for the king.' i. e. that the convocation should determine this controversy. That

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"*That should be permitted to sit and act in taking care of that flock of Christ, of which the Holy Ghost has made them overseers, and which the laws of the land have committed to them,*" p. 156—7.

Before I consider the *thing* proposed by your lordship, I cannot but observe, that your lordship in the former passage wanted the *convocation* to *REFUTE* errors: here 'tis to *fit and act*. I think the usual method in *convocation* is not to *refute* errors; 'tis not to *convince* mens judgments, or to produce *reasons* for what they do, but to determine the truth or falshood of a notion *authoritatively*. *Synodical* affairs are always transacted in a *judicial* manner; whilst *private persons*, i. e. men in their private capacities, usually attempt to *refute* any error that happens to arise.

As to the method by your lordship proposed, that *Those who are* in authority are partakers of other mens sins because they do not suffer the convocation to *fit and act*, I will lay before your lordship the sentiments of two very great men, who have been reputed ornaments, the one of the *antient* church, the other of our *own* church.

The *first* is, *Gregory Nazianzen*, that dear friend of *Basil*. Many bishops being met at
Constantinople,

Constantinople, and summoning this great man, who for his exactness and skill in scripture was called the DIVINE, to that *synod*, he refused to come; "Experience having taught him how little good could be expected from *synods*; they usually widening more than curing differences. Nor will I (says he) be present at any *synods*, where they cackle like geese or cranes: in those assemblies there is contention, and squabble; and shameful actions, which were hid before, are there made public, men of hostile minds towards one another being assembled together?" These reflections were occasioned by those meetings of the clergy at *Constantinople* a first and second time; and at other places; from whence this great DIVINE found so little comfort, that nothing could persuade him to come near them at last. So little did he expect from *synods* towards the curing of controversial evils.

The other, is our present primate*, whose judgment in synodical affairs every man must value and pay a wonderful deference to. "There is scarce any thing in antiquity, says he, that either more exposed our christian profession heretofore, or may more deserve our serious consideration at this day, than

* Dr. Wake, then archbishop of Canterbury.

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'the violence, the passion, the malice, the false-
 'ness, and the oppression which reigned in most
 'of those synods that were held by *Constantine*
 'first, and after him by the following em-
 'perors, upon the occasion of the *Arian* con-
 'troversy. Bitter are the complaints, which,
 'we are told that great emperor made of
 'them.—And what little success other synods
 'have oftentimes had, might easily be made
 'appear, were it needful to enlarge upon so
 'known and melancholy a subject. Now
 'this, as it has obliged not only the best
 'men, but the wisest emperors, to be very
 'careful, how they either called, or encour-
 'aged such assemblies, unless they had some
 'reason to hope for a *good effect* of them, so
 'may it suffice to convince us still, that neither
 'are *all times*, nor *all causes*, either proper
 'for, or worthy of, such meetings: and that
 'the expediency of them ought to be very
 'clearly made out, before it can with any
 'reason be expected, that the prince should
 'consent to their assembling.' *Authority of*
Christian Princes, p. 307.—8.

Your lordship most certainly will say, that
 the *present time*, and the *present cause*, are most
 certainly *proper for, and worthy of, such meet-*
ings. 'A time when the *doctrines* of our
 'most holy faith, and the *apostolical institution*
 'of

‘of the government of our church are so viru-
‘lently attacked, and in so open and insolent
‘a manner.’ p. 157.

Permit me, my lord, to reply to this in the words of that *great man*, our present *metropolitan*. ‘There may be some times in which
‘it would be altogether *unadvisable* to assemble
‘it [a convocation.] When mens *passions* are
‘let loose, and their *minds* disordered; when
‘their *interests* and *designs*; their *friends* and
‘their *parties*, nay their own *judgments*, and
‘*principles*, lead them *different ways*; and they
‘agree in nothing so much, as in being very
‘*perverse* and *angry* with one another: when
‘their very *reason* is depraved; and they
‘judge not according to *truth* or *evidence*, but
‘with *respect* of *persons*, and every one opposes
‘what another of a *different persuasion* either
‘*moves* or *approves of*: what good can the
‘*prince* propose to himself, or any *wise man*
‘hope for, from any assembly that can be
‘brought together, under the unhappy in-
‘fluence of these, and the like prepossessions.

‘It was the sense of this, made a *wise man*,
‘in the last age, tell Charles the Vth, *That it*
‘*appeared by experience, and might from reason*
‘*be demonstrated, that those affairs seldom suc-*
‘*ceeded well, which were to be done by many.*
And

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‘And if such be the inconvenience to which
 ‘number alone, exposes such meetings, in the
 ‘best times; sure I am, both *reason* and *ex-*
 ‘*perience* will much more convince us, that in
 ‘times of *doubt* and *discontent*, this will be the
 ‘more likely to be the case; and that under
 ‘such circumstances, there is little good to be
 ‘expected from them.’ *Authority of Christian*
Princes, p. 316—17.

As to the *cause*, upon which your lordship
 thinks it fit for the convocation to *sit and act*,
 I must still reply in the words of our *most*
reverend archbishop.

‘It would be not only *needless* but *absurd*
 ‘for a synod to be called to debate over again
 ‘the fundamentals of piety.—All that they
 ‘would gain by doing it, would be only this,
 ‘that they would see their authority and de-
 ‘finitions despised by them; and might pro-
 ‘bably give offence to good men, as if they
 ‘had so much reason on their side, or there
 ‘were so much difficulty in this case, as to
 ‘need the solemnity of a convocation to inter-
 ‘pose in it.’ This his *grace* speaks concern-
 ‘ing *sceptics*, and *libertines*, who deny the truths
 ‘of christianity. But then his *grace* goes on to
 ‘affirm, ‘that neither there is any need of a
 ‘*new synod* to declare the doctrine of the
 ‘church.

‘ church in such points, in which it has, by
 ‘ as great, or even greater authority, been
 ‘ before declared. A convocation may sit,
 ‘ says he, and draw up what *creeds* and *con-*
 ‘ *fessions* it will; but if they expect that those
 ‘ who despise the authority of the *antient*
 ‘ *general councils* of the church should be con-
 ‘ cluded by their definitions, it will, I doubt,
 ‘ appear that they have but flattered them-
 ‘ selves with vain hopes: and they will find
 ‘ too late, that those, who are not to be re-
 ‘ strained by what has already been deter-
 ‘ mined, will much less regard any *new*
 ‘ *decisions* that can be made against them.’
ibid. p. 313.

‘Tis not, my lord, a crime I hope in me,
 to desire that the *royal supremacy may get the*
better of the spiritual jurisdiction. ‘ If the
 ‘ meeting and acting of the convocation does
 ‘ depend upon the *grace and pleasure* of the
 ‘ *prince*, so that they can neither assemble,
 ‘ nor consult, without his permission, nor is
 ‘ he any farther obliged to allow of *either*,
 ‘ than he is persuaded their meeting and acting
 ‘ will be for the public benefit of the church
 ‘ and kingdom’—perhaps ‘ his majesty may
 ‘ have as good or better reasons against their
 ‘ sitting under the present circumstances of
 ‘ affairs,’ than can be offered for it. *ibid.* p. 3.

The

The charge of *partaking in other mens sins* is certainly very severe: it deals about a heavy reflection upon all the *ministry*; and how far his *majesty himself* may be concerned, I know not. Every reader, I believe, will be apt to conceive that the charge is pointed *there*, as well as upon others, when your lordship says, That ‘*Defender of the faith is not an empty title: the defence of the church of England is —the foundation of the revolution, and of his majesty’s succession to the throne,*’ p. 158.

But what is all this grounded upon? Because a *synod* is not permitted to *assemble*, where ’tis ‘very likely to fly into *heats* and ‘*parties*, and after much contention, nothing ‘to be done. And then the enemies without, ‘will smile, and tell the world, that when it ‘came to the trial, the convocation itself ‘could not agree, about this matter; and ‘from thence draw an untoward consequence ‘against the very doctrine itself [of the trinity.]’ *Authority of Christian Princes*, p. 330.

I would willingly, my lord, cast a veil over this unaccountable behaviour of *councils*, ‘where *pride and ill-nature* commonly do ‘mineer;’ that I may still keep to that *great* man’s words. *Appeal. Pref. p. 24.* When one sees the arts that have been used to condemn

denn or to acquit a person, the intrigues, the corruption, the malice and oppression, which appears in the very first *assemblies of the clergy* under *Constantine*; and by what tricks their points were carried *then*, and have been too often since, I am borne down by the weight of his *grace's judgment*, and cannot but acquit his *majesty* and all others of all imputation of sin, in not permitting, in our present circumstances, the *convocation to sit and act*.

Pardon me, my lord, for the trouble I have put your lordship to on this occasion. But when the humour of addressing, begun at *Oxford*, encouraged and promoted by the *London clergy*, and 'tis said (I do not pretend to say for what end) that 'tis to be carried on in many *visitations* over *England* this summer, —when this humour of addressing *thanks* for a *book*, which contains the very essence of *persecution*, is promoted, I cannot but openly *protest* against such proceedings. It seems to me an artful method of some to catch the unwary, that under pretence of declaring *against* heresy, they may declare *for* persecution. Your lordship, no doubt, is not accountable for any actions of other men. I therefore propose it to the consideration of all those who are so zealous for these *thanks*,
that

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that if this public approbation of your lordship's book be thus testified, whether it be not in all those that are concerned, as that great prelate so often quoted, expresses it, to arraign the government for not suffering the *CONVOCATION* to meet, and to tell the world, that both the honour of religion, and the good of the church, are concerned in it, and cannot be preserved without it. *Authority of Christian Princes*, p. 5. Is not this to make as invidious a suggestion against our sovereign lord king GEORGE, and against all in authority under him, as 'tis possible to make? Is this suggestion fit and right at this time, when a spirit of faction is raised and promoted over the nation on other accounts; and when discontents have clouded in a great measure mens understandings?

But if thanks must be voted, as I perceive the *university* of *Cambridge* likewise hath just now done, yet let the doctrine of *persecution* be excepted; let the *beathan's* advice, which must have prevented christianity's coming into the world, and must hinder the *reformation* of public errors in all countries, be excepted; let the *charge upon the government* be excepted; and let the errors of the book, whatever they be (for which I am sure your lordship would not accept any one's thanks) be excepted, that
those

those who vote their thanks may not be chargeable with *them*, and then I think the *sincerest* thanks are due to your lordship; nor would any man more readily concur in giving them, than,

My LORD,

April 28th,
1721.

Your Lordship's

Most obedient Servant.

P O S T S C R I P T.

TH^{O'} in the preceding *letter*, a sufficient answer is given to what your lordship had said concerning punishment for *blasphemy*, yet I have judged it not improper to suggest a few things upon *that* topic more particularly.

Blasphemy is an irreligious, presumptuous, contemptuous reviling of God. When therefore your lordship says, p. 159. *If he [Christ] be God, and you deny him, 'tis blasphemy,* your lordship confounds an *irreligious, presumptuous, contemptuous reviling of God*, with a *mistaken notion or conception of God* which has *no contempt, no reproach, no reviling of God* designed or intended in it.

There

There is not a more mischievous abuse of words, than to apply a term, which always in its *proper* sense stands for a *designed presumptuous* reviling, to cases where *no* designed reviling is intended. To execute, therefore laws, made against *real blasphemy*; and under the cover of that *word* to draw in, as *guilty*, those who *by consequences and construction* only, can be deemed *blasphemers*, is to *ensnare* and to *entrap* men; 'tis to punish persons for crimes which they never *thought* of, and from their hearts *abhor*; and therefore with equal justice, they might be treated as *felons*, or *murderers*, as they can be *blasphemers*.

Let *blasphemy*, my lord, that which is *really* such, be punished as severely as your lordship wishes; but let not men be deemed *blasphemers* by *consequences*. I know not where this evil can stop, if once this practice should take place; every *Calvinist* is charged with *blasphemy* by his adversaries, for making God *the author of sin*; and he in his turn charges them with the *same crime*, for maintaining *freedom of will*. 'Tis just the same betwixt *protestants* and *papists*: each of them dealing about the word *blasphemy*, upon the other, by a horrible abuse of the word, for a *consequence*, which is utterly denied, and detested, by those that are charged with it.

When

When the word, *blasphemy*, is applied for, *attributing to God what does not belong to him*, or for, *denying what does belong to him*—In these cases, and such like, which are infinite, it does not signify any *vice*, but a *mistake*; it does not relate to any thing strictly *evil* in a man, but to any *error* or inconsistency of notion about God: 'tis taken not in its *proper and eminent* sense, but in a *large* extent, for whatever, *any way*, by *consequence* remote or near, hurts the name and reputation of any one. To punish men for *blasphemy*, in this sense of the word, is to punish men, in effect, for being *fallible*, and because they are not able to see all the consequences, that those of the most *exalted* understandings really, or in imagination, do see. A punishment which where 'twill fall “*no man can foretell, every good man fears.*”

ANIMADVERSIONS

ON A

REVEREND PRELATE'S

REMARKS

UPON THE

B I L L

Now depending in

PARLIAMENT:

ENTITLED

*A bill to prevent suits for tythes, where
none, nor any composition for the same,
have been paid within a certain number
of years.*

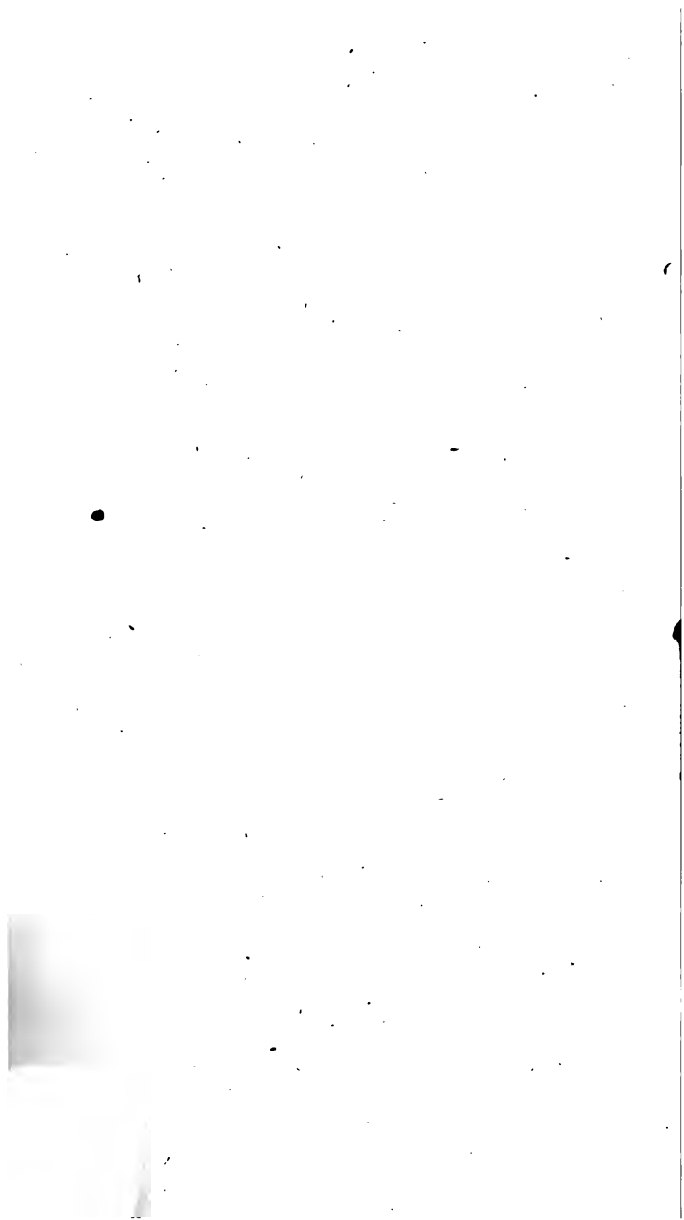
By a member of the House of Commons.

To which are prefix'd the REVEREND PRE-
LATE's Remarks.

First printed in the year 1731.

VOL. III.

I



REMARKS upon a BILL now depending
in PARLIAMENT, entitled, *A bill to
prevent suits for tythes, where none, nor
any composition for the same have been
paid within a certain number of years,*

By a Reverend PRELATE*.

THE law concerning *exemption from
tythes* as it stands at present, is thus :
If tythe be demanded by the incumbent, and the proprietor of the lands pleads
an *exemption*, the incumbent insists upon *common right* as the general rule of law ; and it
rests upon the proprietor to prove the exemption.
And there is great reason it should be so ; because in all cases, whoever pleads *exemption*
from a general rule, is bound to assign the special grounds and reasons, of such exemption :
And because in this particular case, it is supposed that the proprietor of the lands has
the evidences in his hands ; and it cannot be supposed that he or his ancestors would pay for
an estate as tythe free, without clear evidence

* Dr. Sherlock, then bishop of Salisbury.

that it was so ; when they knew the law to be such, that an incumbent would have it in his power at any time to demand tythe of common right, and must prevail, if legal evidence of the exemption could not be produced.

But by this new bill, the proof shall not rest upon the proprietor of the lands, who is supposed to have the evidences of it in his hands, and he and his family concerned in interest to preserve them ; but the proof that payment has been made within the term of years to be fixt by this bill, if it pass into a law, is to rest upon the incumbent ; who comes a stranger to the parish. unacquainted with what was done in the times of his predecessors, and not like to be assisted by the parishioners, considering the interest they have, and the influences they are oft times under.

In this way, exemptions may easily be set up for all lands, the tythe whereof has not been taken in kind, but (which is the most usual method) paid in money, whether as a *modus*, or upon the foot of a private agreement between the incumbent and proprietor. For the receipts for the money are in the hands of the proprietor, and the succeeding incumbent may know nothing of any agreement made ; or if he do, he cannot oblige him to produce the
receipts

receipts in proof of it. Whereas the law, as it stands at present, by which he is enabled to sue for tythe of *common right*, and prevails, if the proprietor do not prove the exemption, effectually secures the clergy against all such frauds and impositions, and nothing else can effectually secure them.

Many of the rectories impropriate belonging to bishops, deans, and chapters, and other ecclesiastical persons, and to the colleges in the two universities; are, and have long been, in the hands of lords of manors, or other proprietors of lands within the same parishes; which leases descend from father to son, and enable them to let their own estates tythe-free. And all lands, which by reason of such unity of possession, shall have paid no tythe within the term to be limited by this act, are exempted by it from paying tythe *for ever*.

Some of the religious orders, particularly the *Cistercians*, were privileged from paying tythe of lands *while they continued in their occupation*, and not otherwise. And though all the lands of the religious came into the hands of the crown, and from the crown to the grantees, in the same *manner* as the religious enjoyed them; yet by this bill, if the grantee of the

crown shall have kept such lands in his own occupation, during the term therein to be limited, all incumbents are deprived for ever of the right they had to tythe, when such lands should be occupied by a *tenant*.

Warrens, woodlands in particular countries, and lands that have lain waste, from all which tythe would be due, if converted into arable or pasture, will be entitled to a *perpetual exemption* by this act; and it may have the like effect in many other cases, not now foreseen.

If it be candidly considered, by how many undue ways exemptions may and do grow, we shall see no reason to take from the clergy any advantages against them, which the law gives as it stands at present. Some difficulties have been mentioned already, which cannot be avoided by incumbents, though never so careful, and wholly free from restraints and influences of all kinds; I mean their coming strangers to their livings, and the difficulty of procuring evidence among the parishioners. But besides these, the clergy who come in unaccustomed to secular affairs, are more liable to be imposed upon than others; and some of them are not so careful of the rights of their church, as might be wished, for want of reflecting that they are
not

not barely concerned in interest for their own time, but are moreover the guardians of those rights for the use of their successors. Some are unactive and sedentary, and care not to enter into enquiries, which may lead them into troublesome law-suits : Others are not in need, and foreseeing the uneasiness they shall raise to themselves by contesting exemptions, sit still and acquiesce : Others are poor, and have not money to support contests with rich men, and so *must* acquiesce : Many are known to come in under the restraint of general bonds of resignation, with heavy penalties, and must either go on to indulge the estate of the patron, or be ruined : Many livings are given to the sons or near relations of patrons, who are naturally disposed to be respectful to the estate of the family ; and if others also did not the same, they are sometimes thought very ungrateful for the favour of their presentation. Many of the poorer livings all over *England* are held by sequestration, without either institution or induction ; and the clergy who officiate in them, not being properly incumbents, cannot bring suits for the *right* to tythe ; and if an incumbent come in, who is willing and able to do it, he will be wholly precluded by this act after a certain number of years.

It is easily seen, how discontinuances of payment may have grown by any one or more of these ways; and it would be very unreasonable, that such discontinuances, to which *all the tythes in the kingdom* are exposed, should be turned into perpetual exemptions, for no other reason, but because it may now and then be doubtful, and need the determination of the law, whether a *particular* parcel of land is really exempt or not. And it would be extremely hard, that the livings and the successors in them, should be made to suffer without any possibility of remedy, by the poverty, indolence, or unhappy compliances of their predecessors; who may have satisfied their minds with this, that it would be in the power of their successors, *at any time*, to do right to themselves and their church against pretended exemptions, by exerting their claim to tythe of *common right*; little suspecting, that this ancient right would be extinguished by any future law, when the standing rule of all courts, civil and ecclesiastical, since the *reformation* as well as before, had been, that no plea *de non decimando* ought to be admitted; and when it appeared not, that the *justice* and *equity* of that rule had at any time been called in question by the legislature.

Tho'

Tho' the present bill goes no further than to establish a perpetual exemption upon a *past* discontinuance of payment of tythe ; yet as the several *causes* and *occasions* of those discontinuances hitherto, will still remain and have the like effect, (particularly, the insisting upon general bonds of resignation, is well known to be far more common, and more openly and avowedly practised, of late days, than ever ;) so will there be the same pretence *hereafter* for new acts to establish exemptions, under colour of loss of evidence, and preventing law suits, and quieting possessions ; and, in this way, there must be a gradual diminution of the maintenance of the clergy in every generation, if they be deprived of the benefit they now have, of claiming tythe by *common right*.

From these considerations, and from the manifest disadvantages the clergy lie under in being far less able to *know*, and *prove*, and *assert* their *rights*, than those who enjoy estates by *inheritance* ; no statutes for *limitation* of suits have ever been extended to the revenues of the church, but the successors have hitherto been left at full liberty to *assert* their rights, at any time. So that it is very groundlessly insinuated in the preamble to this bill, that the statute of *Edw. 6th*, on which it pretends to

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found itself, had created a prescription of forty years, so as to debar the clergy of those days from claiming tythe in any *other* manner than they had been paid within that term, and from *claiming* any at all, if lands had not *paid* any at all for so long a time. For the words of that act are, that all prædial tythes shall be paid, *in such manner and form as hath been of right yielded and paid within forty years next before the making of this act*, OR OF RIGHT OR CUSTOM OUGHT TO HAVE BEEN PAID. The meaning of that retrospect of *forty years* was plainly this; that in the infancy of the *reformation* many of the people were unwilling to pay tythes to the protestant clergy, and did not believe they had any title to them; as is plainly intimated in the preambles to two former acts for the payment of tythes, 27 *H. 8. c. 20.* and 32 *H. 8. c. 7.* Against whom it is plainly the intention of this act, to provide that they shall be obliged to pay tythes to the *protestant* incumbents, as punctually, as they had paid them to the *popish*; and if they do not, that they shall be liable to temporal coercion, as well as ecclesiastical censures. So that the act of *Edw. 6.* was made wholly in *favour* of the clergy, and to facilitate the recovery of their tythes; and then, as to the right, though no tythe at all had been actually paid within that term,
the

the power of suing for it is fully reserved by the additional words, OR OF RIGHT OR CUSTOM OUGHT *to have been paid*—And, in a subsequent clause (sect. 4.) all exemptions and discharges from tythe, are left to stand or fall according to the laws in being, before that act; provision being only made, that if they were really exempt before, they should not be made liable to pay tythe by any thing in the act. Whereas the present bill is wholly in favour of the parishioners *against* the clergy, and takes from incumbents the known and established privilege of claiming tythe of *common right*; and, after a discontinuance of payment for a certain time, utterly *deprives* them of their right, even though they should be able to prove it by records and evidences of undoubted authority.

But if that retrospect to the forty years *before* the act of *Edward* the VIth, had been made the *only* rule of the clergy's right; it had been a much more favourable rule, than the like, or even a larger term of years before the making of this act, would be. Every one knows in what view tythes were considered in the times to which that retrospect reaches, and how religious the people were in paying them to the full. But it is to be feared, that in later days that ancient principle has lost much of

its force. There is one whole sect among us, who plead conscience for refusing to pay any tythe at all. Another sort, however conscientious in not converting tythes to their own use, do certainly think them better employed towards the maintenance of popish priests than protestant incumbents. And the people, in general, are not easily brought to feel the force of that unanswerable argument for the clergy's right to tythe, that they or their ancestors purchased no more than *nine* parts.

One great pretence for this bill, is the *loss of evidence*; namely, original grants from the crown, and other evidences relating to them. Concerning which, it may well be supposed in general, that families are very *careful* in preserving the evidences of their estates; and what preserves the evidence of the estate exempted, preserves also the evidence of the exemption. These are, of course, transmitted from father to son, and, being grants from the crown, were to be recorded and preserved in chancery, and may probably be found there; and in many cases, sufficient evidence, whether lands are exempt or not exempt, may be had from the office of *augmentation*, which is open to every subject, and contains the state of the lands and impropriate tythes of many religious-houses (as they came to the crown, and
by

by consequence to the grantees) under the names of the houses to which they belonged, and with accounts of their being in lease or manual occupation at the time of the dissolution; upon which circumstances, the point of exemption or no-exemption chiefly depends.

All such records, in what hands soever, if fairly produced, may be proofs *against pretended* exemptions, as well as proofs *for real ones*; and yet this bill not only puts the proprietors of the lands under no obligation to declare in a legal manner that the evidences are really lost, or to produce them, if not lost; but, after a term of years in which no tythe has been paid, the successor of one or more incumbents who were indolent, or ignorant of their rights, or under undue restraints from claiming them, is utterly debarred by it from claiming tythe, tho' he should be able to prove never so clearly from records to which he can have access, that there *could* be no legal exemption.

As to the other pretence for this bill, *viz.* the preventing differences and law-suits, a freedom from them, and a quiet and peaceable enjoyment of our own, are certainly very great blessings; and the greater the blessings are, the greater is their guilt, who will not suffer their neighbours to enjoy them on any terms, but
the

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the giving up their just rights, and the necessary subsistence of themselves and their families. But on which side the breach of peace and friendship, as occasioned by suits for tythes, does chiefly lie, appears from calculations that have been made by practitioners in the court of exchequer, which show that the instances wherein the prosecutors for tythes have *failed*, bear no kind of proportion to the number of instances in which they have *prevailed*; and, as to the *number* of suits, many of them have been the suits of lay impropiators, and not parochial incumbents. So far are the clergy from being justly chargeable either with multitudes of prosecutions, or with bringing such suits as have been deemed vexatious or frivolous: The truth lies on the other side, that thro' the unwillingness or inability of some to engage in troublesome and expensive law-suits, and thro' the restraints and influences which others have been under, the rights of their churches have greatly suffered, and by degrees been lost.

Animadversions

Animadversions on the preceding
REMARKS.

THE reverend prelate first lays down the LAW as, he says, it stands at present; *E* wish that he would vouchsafe to lay down REASON. When a bill depends in parliament, the legislature are to consider *what ought to be law*, and not *what is law*; for if they were bound by customs or statutes, they would be useless to the people, who often find themselves aggrieved by the usage and institutions of former times, against which they can have no relief, but from the legislative power.

The *bishop* observes, that as the law now stands, “ If *tythe* be demanded by the incumbent, and the proprietor of the lands pleads an exemption, the incumbent insists upon *common right*, as the *general rule* of law, and it rests upon the proprietor to prove the exemption.” And he thinks, there is great reason it should be so; “ because in all cases, whoever pleads an exemption from a general rule, is bound to assign the special grounds and reasons of such exemption.” But he ought to have told us, not that the incumbent insists upon *common right*, which we all know; but *why he should* insist upon common right, which

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which the *wisest* of us cannot account for. What is admitted in courts of judicature, ought not to determine us. The question now is, *What should be allowed by a British legislature?* And though it is certain that when a proprietor of lands pleads an exemption in *Westminster-Hall*, it rests upon him to prove it, yet it may well be considered in a *house of commons*, whether that proof *ought* to rest upon him.

If the *case of tithes* be fairly and justly considered, many objections will arise against its being a case of common right; which must in parliament be *tried*, not by *common law*, but by *common sense*. There can be no right in the world but that which arises from nature, and the reason of things: Shew us from *thence* that the clergy have a right to maintenance from the laity, and we will then allow that the laity ought to maintain them. No obligation can be laid on any one, unless an equivalent really received creates it. We do not owe the king himself allegiance, but on the terms of equal protection; and we cannot owe the clergy *tithes*, but on the terms of an *equivalent*. Where then is this equivalent? Or, why should the clergy *exact tithes*, as arising to them of right?

No

No man by conscience, or for his own happiness, or for the public good, is obliged to conform to any church, or advise with any priest, but such as himself approves. On the contrary, to compel his conformity against his opinion, is against all conscience, against his own happiness, and the public good. If he does conform to that church of his own choice, it is for some advantage; and so far as he conforms and enjoys that advantage, so far is he under an obligation, and owes a maintenance to that clergy, from whom he receives an equivalent. But if he cannot and does not conform, what advantage does he receive? What obligation is he under, or what maintenance does he owe to any one? It may be necessary that *priests*, as well *physicians*, should be provided, for the cure of *souls* as well as of *bodies*. But would it not be very unreasonable that the law should oblige us to give physicians *retaining fees*, and compel us to maintain them, by paying them when we do not want them, as much as when we do want them? Is it not sufficient that they are paid when they are applied to? And is there any difference between *physicians* and *priests*, which creates a greater obligation to the latter than to the former?

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Men having a natural right and a legal toleration to choose their own religion, do often associate themselves in particular churches, and dissent from the national sect, or established church. Every member of a *separate* church stands obliged to support *his own* pastor, whilst he resorts to him; and shall he also stand obliged to support a *parochial* pastor, whom he never resorts to? Shall he not only pay the priest whom he applies to, but likewise one whom he never applies to? By the same rule, he might not only stand obliged to see the physician who attends him, but also one who never attends him. And might not the same pretence be laid claim to by the physician as by the priest, that he whom the *state* shall choose, is as ready to undertake the cure, as he whom the *patient* shall choose?

If this be the case, I do not see how the clergy can sue their parishes for *tythe* of *common right*; any more than that physicians can sue for *parochial fees*. And therefore why should this be suffered to continue *common law*?

If then the clergy have not from reason and nature a common right to *tythe*, *the laity* have a common right to exemption; and therefore when a priest shall sue for *tythe*, if the parish plead

plead an exemption, the *general rule* of justice will be on their side, and the *priest* stand bound to assign the *special grounds* and *reasons* of his pretence to *tythe*.

The *reverend prelate* imagines, that “ It cannot be supposed that the proprietor or his ancestors would pay for an estate as *tythe-free*, without clear evidence that it was so; and therefore he at all times ought to prove that it is so.” But every man knows that in any other case, a long discontinuance of an incumbrance will legally be an avoidance of that incumbrance; and therefore it is, that quiet possession, enjoyed for a considerable time, is a good title in law, whatever ancient claim shall be renewed. This is well known, and is very reasonable; whereas the power of the clergy to demand and recover *tythe* of common right, against a long enjoyment of discontinuance, is neither well known nor in any degree reasonable. So that men may very easily pay for estates as *tythe-free*, in case there hath been a long discontinuance; and such a purchase ought to be entitled to exemption, just as it is in the case of *quit-rents*; if they are long discontinued, they cannot be legally laid claim to; for the law supposes reasonably that they were discontinued, either
because

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because they were not due, or else by agreement. And after a long course of time, evidence naturally grows dark or deficient, in which case the law will not disturb possession.

If the law in *any case* does allow exemptions from *tythe*, as it does in many, *why not in all*? Since if it is not an injury to *one* incumbent, that his parishioners are exempt, it cannot be to *any*. And if it is a *common good* done to one parish, it is of *common right* due to *all* in the *kingdom*; which may well be considered by the legislative power.

All this having its due weight, gave rise to the bill now depending in parliament, by which the proof of exemption shall not rest upon the proprietor of land, who in many cases hath no title to the land itself, much less to enjoy it *tythe-free*, other than that which arises from *long* and *quiet* possession: An evidence sufficient at all times; and indeed no better is demanded in *any case*, *except where the clergy are concerned*.

Instead of obliging the *land-owners*, as by the laws in being they are obliged to prove a special exemption, the bill now depending enacts, that the *clergy* shall prove a special right to *tythe*, it having been proved, beyond contradiction,

dition, that they have not a *common right* by reason or the nature of things.

The *reverend prelate* pretends that this proof ought not to lie upon them, “ Because they “ come strangers to their parishes, unacquainted “ with what was done in the time of their “ predecessors, and not like to be assisted by “ the parishioners, considering the interest “ they have, and the influences they are oft “ times under.”

This will not by any means bear the test of examination; for a clergyman must come into a parish with a very odious character indeed, that no man will give him assistance. It is very easy to know by *living witnesses*, what hath been done within *forty years* past by his predecessors. And let the general interest or influence be ever so much against him, some persons will certainly adhere to him. If he be a worthy man, he need not despair of *sufficient* friendship and assistance. If he be the worst man alive, he will find *some persons* for their own profit, assiduous to give him informations, and to court his favour; nay, if deserted by all men, still he may file a *bill of discovery* in the *court of exchequer*, against whom he pleases; and can never want *evidence*, if he is not without *right*: An advantage which the *prelate* prudently

prudently concealed, when he set forth their pretended difficulties.

It is therefore *poultry stuff* which hath dropt from this *prelate's* pen, to say, that receipts which incumbents give the *land-owners*, where there is a *modus* or an *agreement*, remain in the hands of those *land-owners*; and that succeeding incumbents cannot have recourse to such receipts. He very *untruly* says, that incumbents cannot compel such receipts to be produced: If they are minded to sue for *tythe*, they may at the same time sue for *evidence*; and on the discovery of the latter, they effectually may recover the former. But where the *tythes* are paid in kind, the *church-wardens* or *officers* who collected them, may be summoned on any trial, and give an account upon oath, *viva voce*, what hath been the usage: All which the *reverend prelate* conceals, nay *denies*; which in one so well acquainted with these affairs is inexcusable, and in one of his *holy character* is much to be lamented.

As to *rectories improper*, leased by *colleges*, *bishops*, *deans* and *chapters*, which may continue by such leases in particular families more than *forty years*, and by the *lessees* may be let to under tenants *tythe-free*, in which case there will arise a *perpetual exemption*: I dare under-

take to answer for the wisdom and circumspection of those bodies or persons thus possessed of *impropriations*, that if this law shall pass, they will never grant any lease allowing the lessees to let them *tythe free* forty years together, or in any manner whatever which may create an exemption. Ecclesiasticks are not used to be either so *negligent* or so *disinterested*, nor are they likely to be so, especially after *this bishop* hath favoured them with so timely a precaution.

Some of the religious orders, particularly the *Cistercians*, were, it seems, privileged from paying tythes of lands, *whilst those lands continued in their occupation*. When the crown resumed those lands, they were granted to be held *in such manner* as those monks enjoyed them; and yet *the bishop* complains that if this bill take place the exemption will not cease, tho' the grantees do not occupy the lands *themselves*, but the lands are occupied by a tenant. Neither can I see *why it should*, it being much more due to *industrious landed men*, than ever it was to *lazy, idle, superstitious monks, the vermin and locusts of mankind*.

“ Warrens, woodlands, and LANDS THAT
 “ HAVE LAIN WASTE, *says the bishop*, from
 all

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“ all which *tythe* would be due, if converted in-
“ to *arable* or *pasture*, will be entitled to a
“ perpetual exemption by this act.

Is this then an argument *against* the law proposed? In my humble apprehension there can be none stronger *for* any bill whatever. It is well known that the WASTE LANDS of this kingdom would be of infinite value, if converted into *arable* or *pasture*. They would be an addition to the wealth of the kingdom, of greater value than the *present* national debt. And can there be too great encouragement given to improve them? Or can a greater discouragement be in the way, than that, after so much labour and expence to improve them (wherein the *clergy* bear no share) they shall in a *few years* time, just when they become of any value, fall under the heavy incumbrance of *tythe*, and pay a *tenth part* of their *neat produce* to the clergy, which is a *perpetual* LAND TAX on the kingdom of TWO SHILLINGS in the pound, and, without improving *waste lands*, amounts to above a *million per annum*? Who would improve *waste lands* on such conditions?

This *charitable prelate*, who thro' the whole argument is so kind to the *laity*, as every where to suppose them *rogues* and *thieves*, continually and unanimously *cheating* the *poor clergy* of their
righteous

righteous dues; I say, this very *charitable prelate*, comes now to bespeak our candour for the clergy, and exhorts us to believe, “ That
 “ *they are unaccustomed to secular affairs, are*
 “ *more liable to be imposed on than others, and*
 “ *some of them not so careful of the rights of the*
 “ *church, as might be wished.* Some, he says,
 “ *are unactive and sedentary*, and care not to
 “ engage in troublesome law-suits: Others
 “ are not in need, and foreseeing the uneasiness
 “ occasioned by contests, sit still and acquiesce :
 “ Others are poor, and not able to carry on
 “ contests, and so *must* acquiesce : Many come
 “ in under the restraint of *general* bonds of
 “ resignation, with *heavy penalties*, and so must
 “ go on to indulge the estate of the patron, or
 “ be ruined: Many livings are given to the
 “ sons or near relations of patrons, which
 “ creates a natural disposition to be respectful
 “ to the estate of the family ; and if others also
 “ do not the same, they are sometimes thought
 “ ungrateful for the favour of their presen-
 “ tation.” This is the general case of the
 clergy, in the *candid* bishop’s account.

Those who have nothing to gain by *flattering the clergy*, may possibly give another account of them. Who, in the name of *Modesty*, would think them *unacquainted with secular affairs*,

that sees them so busy in shoals at *Westminster-Hall*, so constant at *levees*, so assiduous in *drawing-rooms*, and so ambitious for *power*? Is the presentation to a living to be considered as a *spiritual* or a *temporal* call? And when we see the whole body study the gospel for the sake of *so much a year*, who can say that the *good men* are *wholly unacquainted with secular affairs*?

Would any man imagine from the argument now under consideration, that *the bishop* who framed it is *one of the heads of an order, unacquainted with secular affairs*? I cannot but do him the justice to say, that it is hard to decide, whether he shewed more acuteness in defence of the *christian religion* or the *great cause of tythes*?

No man would think from the *clamour* and *out-cry* which *all* of them make against this bill, that *they are more liable to be imposed on than others*. No man would think it who runs over the *lists* hanging up in the *exchequer-office*, of causes to be heard in that court. Nor did any man ever come among *two or three priests* at any time, but their *tythes* and their *dus* made a part of the conversation. Let any one go to *Guild's* or the *Chapter coffee-house*, whenever he pleases, and he will constantly experience
the

the truth of this observation. If gentlemen recollect the behaviour of the clergymen in their several countries, they will find that the *necessities* of some, the *avarice* of others, and the *luxury* of many, continually put them on *robbing* and *squeezing* their parishioners: that those who seldom reside on their livings, are out of the reach of uneasiness occasioned by exactions and contests: That those who haunt levees, and follow great persons, and aim at preferment, cannot otherwise support the expence of coming to town, and living far distant from *their cures*, but by *extortion* and *law-suits*: That *young clergymen* in small livings hope for great ones; and do not much regard the ill will of parishioners: That they have *all* the same appetites which other men have, and having more power, do more to gratify their lusts: That having been bred expensively in universities, they *will* frequently live above their incomes; and spending all-and more than all, make their parishioners eternally uneasy, and leave their families *certain* beggars. There is no man alive of any experience, but hath seen numberless instances of these practices. And how such men as these can be described as *as wholly unacquainted with secular affairs*, or *more likely to be imposed on than others*, cannot

possibly be done, without the help of this bishop's astonishing candour.

I will be so just to the *reverend prelate* as to admit, that *some* among the *clergy* are *sedentary* and *unactive* men ; nay, I will allow with pleasure, far from being unduly prejudiced against their order, that *some* among them are likewise *disinterested* and *humane*. Such may sometimes *wave* their *legal rights* rather than *engage* in *contests*. No man of sense will misrepresent any man, or body of men ; but to say that this order hath a greater proportion of such persons than falls to their share, compar'd with the mass of mankind, is *gross* and *fulsome* flattery ; I might say *downright falsehood*, had I not some concern for the *episcopal character*.

We all know what *human nature* is, and that the *unactive* or *sedentary*, the *disinterested* or *humane* are very *few* in number, compared with the *multitude* of *ambitious*, *mercenary*, and *oppressive* men : indeed most men are such, if favoured by *power* or *opportunity* ; neither is there any way to make them otherwise, but by allowing them as *little power* and as *few opportunities* as possible. Wherein doth the *papist* and *protestant* clergy differ but in this, that the former, being allowed by law greater scope for *knavery* and *thievery*, do much more *cheat*
and

and *plunder* the people, while the latter, having *less law* on their sides, are *honest*, at least *harmless*, in proportion to the restraints upon them; as indeed are the bulk of mankind; which all will allow who have much conversed among them.

This being the nature of *men*, and consequently of *priests*, who are at no time *better*, but are very often *worse than other men*, having greater *latitude* of doing wrong, having their *boly orders* to command respect, and their *sucred character* to cover much reproach; having also the *awful* name and word of *God Almighty* to make use of for the advancement of *worldly interests* and *selfish views*; with what pretence of *candour* or of *honesty* can any one describe them to be men *wholly unacquainted with secular affairs*, and *more likely to be imposed on than other people*? Or how can it be suggested, that thro' this *excess of grace and virtue* their legal rights are in greater danger of being lost, by the limitations of *suits at law* designed in the bill depending, than those rights belonging to the rest of mankind are, under the same restrictions.

This *reverend prelate* imagines, that many incumbents of livings neglecting their own
 K. 3. interests.

interests thought that they did no wrong as they surmised that their successors would have an easy method to recover their rights on the *general rule* of common law, never suspecting that the *legislative power* would at any time question the *equity and justice* of that rule, which he says, was *part of popery* itself, and was never once struck at since the *reformation*.

Must then the *folly and dotage* of a few supine *ecclesiasticks*, who never imagined that we should question what was *equal and just*, debar us from the enquiry, and foreclose the question *for ever*? If a *general rule* is not built on *equity and justice*, it is against the *general interest*, and ought no longer to be a general rule, whoever have been mistaken in their *simple conjectures*, or whatever *private* men may be damaged in *personal interests*. Let it also be considered, that custom and usage, the more *ancient* it is, the more liable it is to be *corrupt*, and therefore more fit to be *examined*. The *reformation*, however happily obtained, or beneficial to us, left many errors and enormities unreformed: Besides, new crimes and corruptions naturally arise in the course of time, which may make reformation as necessary now as it was two hundred years ago. And which corruptions, if they continue or spread, will

one day make it just the same thing as if no reformation had ever been at all.

Those who reflect on the rise and progress of the *reformation*, must know, that the passions of *Henry the eighth* had a much greater share in that work than the interests of the people; and however the latter demanded it, yet it was done to gratify the former. No wonder then that a prince, whose principal view was to establish himself in the place and power of the *pope*, should suffer so many grievous parts of popery to continue. And tho' a due regard to the general interest would have induced our first reformers to abolish *tythes*, yet the political views of the prince prevented it. He meant to make the clergy as useful and subservient to himself as they had been to the *Roman pontiffs*. Besides, he had many voracious favourites to gratify; and instead of remitting these *tythes*, or this *decimation tax*, to those on whose lands it was raised, which indeed was the just and equal measure that ought to have been pursued, he still left the *tythes* subsisting; some whereof were given to *laicks*, others to *priests*, *colleges*, *chapters*, *deanaries*, and *bishopricks*, whilst those which were given to *laymen*, have since been made liable to become *ecclesiastical endowments*, notwithstanding the statute of

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Mortmain; which is effectually taken away, as a *corporation* is established with perpetual succession and a revenue which will in time buy up all the impropriations in the kingdom, in which case we shall be very little the better for the *reformation*.

The *reverend prelate* hath, by the most laboured account he could possibly devise, endeavoured to shew how the *right of tythe* may be universally lost to the clergy by the operation of the law proposed. He imagines that some are *supine* and *indolent*, others *clogg'd* and *restrained*, as also, that many are *byass'd* by their family relationships, dependencies and friendships; which, if it were all true, would be far from proving the point he advances; for very few men enjoy a living *forty years* together, the *indolent* give place to the *active*, the *disinterested* to the *avaritious*, a whole generation is changed, and the face of the world altered in *thirty years* or less. So that things are likewise varied, and the right of tythe will *often be asserted*, very *seldom neglected*, and probably *never lost* through any operation of the bill depending.

But supposing what he surmises was really true; supposing that there would be in consequence

quence of such a law, a *gradual diminution of the maintenance of the clergy in every generation*, if thus they be deprived of claiming tythe of *common right*, as in truth they cannot ground their claim upon common right, whatever they may do by *fiction of law*: Why, what then? How would this affect society, but by lessening the numbers and reducing the power of the clergy, very much to the advantage of a people who desire to improve their freedom and happiness? It would draw great numbers of lazy, idle, unprofitable men into the ways of industry, and make them useful to their native country. It would ease the landed-interest of a grievous and oppressive burden. It would make those clergymen, who should administer the gospel, more *faithful* to the charge, and *dependent* on those from whom they ought not to have *separate* interests.

Yet, if the clergy must be maintained in a state of *independency* and *domination*, if they are to have established revenues for their maintenance, why must these be exacted in *tythe*, the most grievous of all impositions? Why must they take from the poor industrious farmer, who hath but one hundred pounds *per annum* (the neat produce of his land) to live on; why must they *annually* take *ten*

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pounds of the money, which, in a few years, if the use of it was allowed him, would provide for a *child*, and thereby give a *useful member* to the commonwealth? This is the more intolerable grievance, considering that *some bishops*, who *cant* and *whine* for the maintenance of their clergy, do at the same time possess *immense revenues*, more than sufficient for the *apostles successors*, and much more than *any apostle*, or indeed *all of them put together*, would ever have pretended to. Let them shew examples of care for the clergy, not in words, but in *real acts* of charity. Let them propose the augmentation of *poor livings*, by the division of *exorbitant church endowments*. Let them quit their *anti-christian cures in commendam*, and live with but half the *humility* and *modesty* of the *holy apostles*, they need not tax the *industrious landed men*, on account of *clergy maintenance*.

Suppose a *bishoprick* of 5000*l.* *per annum* (and such there are in this kingdom) should be reduced to 500, how many parishes would the residue, duly distributed, honourably endow? Throw also into HOTCHPOTCH, *deanaries*, *chapter lands*, *prebends*, and *sine cures*; what a *fund* would this raise for the cure of souls, without one farthing raised in tythe, only *some thousand per annum abated in spiritual luxury*?

It.

It may be said, how could *bishops* in this case support the expence of following courts, and coming up once-a year to *London*? But may it not be asked, *What they have to do there?* Does the *Holy Ghost* call them thither? Besides, if *episcopal offices* were not worth more than 500 *l. per annum*, we should seldom see *bishops slaves and tools*, the *drudges* of government, or *attendants* on great men.

Some *prelates* may think it very hard, that they should contribute to the maintenance of their *inferior clergy*, who, perhaps, are not below them in any kind of merit; yet this will be much more reasonable than some things which have been talked of as practised, even since the reformation. Particularly, suppose it ever happened that a governing prelate was quartered upon *bishopricks* which he had recommended to, and received *simoniacal pensions* from those whom he had raised to the mitre, by way of acknowledgment for their promotion; I believe that such *ungodly stipends* would better have been employed to support the cure of souls than to gratify such *prelatical avarice*.

However, if nothing but *tythe* will please the clergy for their maintenance, I am sure

that it ought to be considered, whether we and our posterity are to be *always at strife* with *these messengers of peace*, and, whether it is not worthy the care of a *British* parliament to lay some *restraint* on *suits for tythe*, as well as on *actions* arising from *civil contracts*, whether they respect lands or money, real or personal estates, all which are already under the *strictest limitations*.

It hath not been from any *visible* disadvantage which the clergy lay under to *know* and *prove* and *assert* their rights, that the *laws of England* have left their suits without limitation or restraint. No men more diligently study, or more vigorously assert their *pretended* rights than the clergy have always done. But it hath been owing to the *interests which they cultivated in the courts* of princes, the *vile drudgery* formerly done for men in power, and the *influence* which they thereby gained upon them, that the clergy have been favoured in a manner which ought not to be approved, and that they have not hitherto been placed *on the same foot with the laity*.

The *reverend prelate's* objection to the preamble of the bill, for that the *statute of Edw.* the sixth, on which it is *in part* founded, doth

not

not really create a prescription of *forty years* as a limited time to sue for tythe in : I say, this objection amounts to nothing at all ; for it is *eternal truth* and *good sense* on which we would found this bill, as indeed all laws can have no other good foundation. And in case that the *ancient statute* created no prescription, yet the *reasonableness* of such a prescription will be the same as if it had been created a *thousand years* ago.

And allowing the meaning of the retrospect in that statute of forty years past, allowing it to be as he would have it understood, *That in the infancy of the reformation many of the people were unwilling to pay tythe to the protestant clergy, and did not believe they had any title to it, on which account this and other acts were made to exact tythe.*

Let us consider this matter freely : Does it not shew the *good sense* of our ancestors ; and that as they were promised a *reformation of religion*, they justly looked for it in a *deliverance from religious burdens* ? Else, in what were we the better for any reformation at all ? The clergy might have still gone on with *thousands of Pater-nosters*, and with *ten thousands of Ave-Marys* : They might have burnt *wax candles*,
and

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and have worshipped *consecrated wafers*. These did no body any great harm; but it was the *exaction of money from the people, with spiritual censures and temporal coercion*, which this bishop is so fond of, that were the *very essence of popish tyranny*; and if these were still to be continued, the *reformation was all nought*, and the *protestant religion very little worth*. So that the *bishop* hath done no great honour to the *church of England* by explaining the *meaning of those laws*.

He then tells us how *religious the people were in paying tythe to the full before the reformation*. This was owing to their *ignorance and superstition*; but he himself allows a very *different turn when their eyes were opened*, which is the *misfortune he complains of*; and thus the point he drives at is, that amidst the *blings of light and knowledge*, we should be the same *religious dupes and bigots as we were in our state of darkness*, and under *spiritual bondage*.

One grievance to *this prelate* is, that the *quakers* plead *conscience for not paying tythes*, which, I think, they have much better ground to do than the *clergy* have to plead *divine right for exacting them*. Again, it seems that *Ro-*

man catholicks think them better apply'd to *popish pastors* than to *protestant incumbents*; which surely is but reasonable, since the *first* are their *spiritual guides*, and the last are men, whom they have nothing to do with, as also men who do nothing for them. Now, if *this bishop* will shew, why *popish laymen* ought to pay tythe to *protestant priests*, I will shew him by the same demonstration, that the *protestant laity* ought to pay tythe to the *popish clergy*, and that the *high priest* of the *Jews* may as well claim tythe from all the people of the gentiles.

But the *bishop's master-stroke* is still to come. He says, "That the people are not easily brought to feel the force of that unanswerable argument for the clergy's right to tythe, that they (the people) or their ancestors, purchased no more than nine parts." In which the *reverend prelate* is most amazingly acute; though he ought to have considered, that with the nine parts, which were the original purchase, the care of a tenth came to our hands to till and manure, to sow and to reap, for the sole use and benefit of the clergy, without any adequate consideration received; and thus the clergy have not only the neat produce, but the sweat of our brow's gratis; not only the crop, but also the toil and expence of producing the crop. So
that

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that here is an article which runs away with *some of the parts which we really purchased*, making *our share less than nine*, and the *clergy's pretended tenth* about a FIFTH part of the estate ; for the expence of cultivation is always, at least, equal to the value of the land, and very often more in value.

The *bishop* therefore might indeed observe, with much propriety, *that the people cannot easily feel the force of his unanswerable argument*, whilst the *culture of the clergy's tenth* is such a dead weight on *their own nine parts*, which the *bishop* himself allows that they or their ancestors purchased. I mightily love *this bishop* for his *unanswerable arguments*.

Besides, if this is considered as an incumbrance, taken along with the bargain ; if it is looked on as a *customary service* attending the tenure of lands, and that they who take the one, do also consent to the other : Yet if this be the case, what a blessed condition are the *people of England* in, that the clergy who bear no proportion in number to the poor industrious laity, that these worthy disciples of the meek, the humble, and the suffering Messiah, that they have no less than a FIFTH PART of all the *lands of England*, which they modestly call.

call by the name of *tythe*; and expect should be allowed them to hold and possess, even *without the just limitations and restrictions*, which all other lands whatever are subject to by *law*; thereby making their *fifth* part devour the *fruit* and *produce* of our four parts, through the plague and expence of *everlasting* law-suits, which are, for want of limitation, entailed upon us and our innocent children?

If the *reverend prelate's* argument be allowed, that the clergy's *right of tythe* is no grievance to the people, because that they or their ancestors, *as he says*, paid for *no more than nine parts*: Why then the *land-tax* is no burthen on the people, for since that tax hath been an *annual rent-charge*, there have been no purchases made wherein it hath not been allowed for. And thus those persons who bought their lands under this consideration, have no right or pretence ever to be discharged from it. Infomuch that if it should continue till all our lands have changed their owners, in the way of bargain and sale, why then the LAND-TAX must become, by *this bishop's* RULE OF RIGHT, *an everlasting incumbrance on ALL the lands of England*, and never ought to be taken off or released by the legislative power; which however it be a doctrine of equal weight with the
reverend

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reverend prelate's unanswerable *argument*, yet notwithstanding this, should any man advance it among us, I leave it to the people to consider how such a man ought to be treated.

In *popish* countries where the *rights of the clergy*, as they are called, are a still greater rent-charge on the people, there is still the same *unanswerable* argument for their allowance. And thus whatever incumbrance or burthen, however grievous, unjust, or oppressive, obtains upon the lands of the people, whether by *usurpation* or by *consent*, induced either through the necessities of times, or the fraudulent arts of deceivers, such impositions, by this rule, are never to be removed; because, in a course of time it will be objected to the people, that they or their ancestors paid for *no more than the unincumbered parts of their lands*. Hence in *all* the parts of *Europe* where *superstition* prevails, property is become wholly *engrossed* by a *few contemptible miscreants*, and the *greatest* part of the people *eaten out of their estates*, nay excluded from ever retrieving them, by a *succession* of *ecclesiastical caterpillars*, who impiously call themselves, *successors to the apostles*. This too will one day be *our own case*, if we allow of such *spiritual usurpations*,

and of such *unanswerable arguments* for their *perpetual establishment*.

One great pretence of this bill is, he observes, *loss of evidence* to prove exemptions. Now, he says, that *families* are generally supposed to be very careful to preserve such evidences; which is not true, neither is it possible that they should be preserved, considering the *infinite accidents* which have happened since the *reformation*. How much evidence did the devastations of the *civil war*, the *fire of London*, and other *public calamities* deprive us of? How *deficient* are the *records* in the public offices? Even *corporations*, where the care of estates is carried on in *perpetual succession*, have lost many of their grants; and what can *private families* be supposed to save, with all their care and good management? Look into the *two universities* themselves. In *Oxford*, the lady *Margaret's professor of divinity* is paid his *stipend* out of the *king's civil list*, though it be no *royal* institution. Grants of lands, and even lands themselves, are lost in the course of time: And thus the foundations of *private persons, lectures, professorships, &c.* which had no relation to the crown, throw themselves at last on the royal bounty for their support, when their evidences are lost, and time hath destroyed their best titles.

How

How many estates of mighty value have no other title in the world to produce, than *ancient* and *quiet* possession? How many *churchlands* are at this day in wealthy families, who have held them ever since the time of *Harry the eighth*, yet cannot find an *inch of parchment* in the world to prove a grant from the crown, notwithstanding that the *candid bishop* will allow the laity no consideration for their *loss of evidence*?

The *bishop* allows, a freedom from law-suits, and the enjoyment of peace, to be very great blessings; but it seems that the *laity* are such *guilty wretches*, that they will not suffer the *poor clergy* to enjoy them, without giving up the subsistence of themselves and their families. This he proves by such *worthy witnesses* as the *practitioners* in the *court of exchequer*; who it seems, on a nice calculation, have found that the suits where prosecutors for *tythe* have *failed*, bear no kind of proportion to those instances where they have *prevailed*. Now if this was ever asserted by those practitioners, which I very much doubt, it is manifestly calculated only for *private ends*; and is in truth an *artful snare*, to draw the clergy into *that court*, and make them *run mad* with the thoughts of *increasing their tythe*. Nor is it to be wondered

at,

at, that these *ingenious practitioners* can sometimes *make use of their invention* for the good of their calling, when their *spiritual clients* so frequently give them such *laudable* and *right reverend* examples.

Thus it seems that all the *broils*, and *breaches* of *parochial peace*, are the fruits of *lay-perverseness*; so far are the *clergy*, in the *bishop's account*, from being justly chargeable with *multitudes* of *prosecutions*, or with those which have been deemed either *frivolous* or *vexatious*; I suppose that he means that *his oracles*, these *honest practitioners*, never deemed that to be *frivolous* or *vexatious*, which they found *very profitable* to themselves: And I dare answer for *their candour* in every case of this nature.

However that be, I must still take leave to make use of *my own* observation, and I appeal to the experience of all who are *less interested* in ecclesiastical suits than the *bishop*, or the *able practitioners* of the *court of exchequer*, whether every gentleman of the *long robe* hath not seen *numberless* prosecutions brought by the *clergy*, where they *shamefully miscarried*: And I myself have made one remark on many of their *orphans* whom I have known, that they often became *helpless* through the *luxury*, but much more often thro' the *law-suits* of their fathers;
which

which gives the *church of England* no great credit from *her off-spring*, as the wisdom of *modern* zealots hath mightily affected to call them.

Doth not every one remember *Doctor BENNET*, late of *Cripplegate, London*? In how great esteem was this *orthodox* divine among his *reverend brethren*? And what was he ever remarkable for but *suits for tythes* and *endless strife*, with a parish where his yearly income was many *hundred pounds*, which he wanted to augment only to *two or three thousands*? If he had succeeded, what would have been the consequence? Why, the living would have afterwards been tacked to some *lean bishoprick*, and held in *commendam* by some *lazy, luxurious prelate*, to the equal benefit of the *parish*, the reputation of the *church of England*, and the glory of the *christian religion**. As he did not succeed, he became a *beggar* in the midst of *plenty*; and his *poor widow*, like too many other *spiritual dowagers*, lives on the *alms* and *hospitality* of her friends and relations. ;

* This practice of holding livings in *commendam*, which those who hold can never take care of, and sometimes never set their eyes on, hath given so much just offence, and been so highly resented, that the HOUSE OF COMMONS have provided special clauses in all the acts to endow the *new churches*, expressly enacting, that none of those churches shall ever be held in *commendam*.

I have thus examined the whole argument against the bill ; an argument *greatly laboured*, not a little *artful*, very *fallacious* in its most plausible appearances, and grounded on *notorious falsehoods*, where its foundations are boasted to be impregnable.

The *clergy* have so long sculked behind the *law*, that it is time they should now come to the *fair test of reason* : They have often told us, that they claim their right from *law*, and that *the law* gives it to them ; let them now shew with what *equity* and *justice* the law should give it to them, or else the *legislature* that gave may possibly take it away.

I am not so *sanguine* as to think that the *success* of this bill will be equal to the *justice* of it ; especially at this juncture, when, to use the *bishop's words*, the *interest of some*, and the *influence of others*, are so well understood : But there may be a season, when those persons shall be laid low who are now most concerned in this affair ; a season, perhaps, better suited to such a design ; nor shall it be said, that the spirit of those gentlemen who brought in this bill died with them, if I am *alive* at that time, and *any ways able* to revive or to promote it.

What

What I now have offered is very little meant to determine the fate of the bill ; we know, *I fear*, where that hath been fixed already ; but what I have here undertaken, was for the glory of truth, and for the detection of fraud. And so long as the one is understood, or the other seen through, *those gentlemen* who formed this bill, will share *those honours*, which neither the *power of courts*, nor the devices of *prelatical iniquity*, can ever take from their characters in life, or from their memories in the minds of posterity. This bill, whatever its fate shall be, will ever be looked on as their *illustrious legacy*, not to those *hireling slaves*, who *profanely* call themselves the *church*, but to that which is much more worthy of tender regard, even our *dearest country*.

A
L E T T E R
T O T H E
REV. SAMUEL CHANDLER, D.D.
CONCERNING THE
CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE
O F
F U T U R E P U N I S H M E N T.

By SAMUEL BOURN, dissenting Minister at NORWICH.

Shall not the judge of the whole earth do right?

GENESIS xviii. 25.

Hæc suspicio intolerabili dolore cruciat, si opinamur eos, quibus orbat sumus, esse cum aliquo sensu iis in malis, quibus vulgo opinantur. Hanc excutere opinionem mihimet volui radicitus.

CIC. Tusc. Qu. Lib. I.

M. Hæc fortasse metuis, & idcirco mortem censes esse sempiternum malum. A. Aleone me delirare censes, ut ita esse credam? M. An tu hæc non credis? A. Minime verò. M. Malè hercule narras. A. Cur, quæso? M. Quia disertus esse possem, si contra ista dicerem. A. Quis enim non in ejusmodi causa? aut quid negotii est, hæc poetarum & pictorum portenta convincere? M. Atqui pleni sunt libri Philosophorum contra ista ipsa differentium. A. Ineptè sanè: quis est enim tam excors, quem ista moveant?

Ibid.

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A
L E T T E R
T O T H E

Rev. SAMUEL CHANDLER, D. D.

REVEREND SIR,

Norwich, Sept. 24, 1759.

HAVING heard you publicly assert some time ago, "That the doctrine of *annihilation*, or, that the souls of wicked men shall be totally destroyed in the future state," is utterly inconsistent with the christian scheme; and as you did not at that time produce any argument of reason, or authority of Scripture, to prove what you had asserted; it raised in me a curiosity to know by what proof you are able to support your assertion; in hope of receiving such satisfaction, as may be expected from a gentleman of your known abilities, and study of the christian revelation.

I am more ready to gratify my own curiosity in making you this public request, as I am persuaded, that there is nothing more conducive to the discovery of truth, than if those who studied the same subject, yet are of contrary opinions, enter into a mutual disquisition of each others arguments, and, with an amicable spirit of free inquiry, examine the strength of what may be alledged on both sides.

That I am of an opinion directly opposite to yours, you need not to be informed: Nor do I see the least reason to avoid either a public declaration, or defence, of my opinion. For, as long as I remain fully convinced, as I am at present, that that doctrine which you asserted, more than once, to be absolutely inconsistent with the christian scheme, is the *very doctrine of christianity*; it will not affect me in the least, whether the opinion which I maintain, be thought old, or new, common, or singular, popular, or unpopular.

That men who apply their minds to the study of religion and the Holy Scriptures, should be of different and even contrary opinions, is certainly no new thing in the christian world. But that such should conspire, by a joint

joint examination and friendly controversy, to investigate truth for themselves and others, in a subject concerning which they totally differ ; is (I am sorry to say) something new and uncommon. But as the author of the epistle to the *H. brews* exhorts them *To provoke one another* (as our translators have rendered it) *to love and good works* ; so I do not doubt, but you, as well as every other reader of this pamphlet, will approve my conduct, in inviting and urging you in this public manner, to a friendly discussion of so important a subject as this before us.

The importance of it will, I apprehend, be readily allowed ; especially, by those who have a real concern for the credit of the christian religion : At least, it appears of so much consequence to me, that if it should be proved, that the final punishment threatened to wicked men in the new testament, is not a total destruction, but an endless preservation in a state of misery and torment ; this would, in my opinion, fix a greater odium upon christianity, and raise a stronger objection to it, than all its adversaries have yet been able to produce : And, I will venture to assert, that there are many persons in this nation, of no inconsiderable understanding, who would be strong-

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ly disposed to reject the new testament as a divine revelation, if they were convinced that it contains such a doctrine.

For, that any doctrine should be true, and have the real stamp of divine authority, which ascribes to the supreme governor of the universe, a conduct unworthy of any prince, or governor on earth, and repugnant to our best conceptions of the measures and ends of good government; cannot easily be admitted by persons of a thoughtful and ingenuous mind. To overcome the antipathy of a good heart, and the remonstrance of a reasoning mind against it, will require an immense weight of external evidence.

A limitation of punishments is essential to all good government: To extend them beyond the limits of reason, or of law, which is the public reason, is one characteristic of tyranny. Where punishments are extended, or increased so far as the public safety and welfare require, and no further; *i. e.* where they are always limited and directed by a view to the happiness of the whole; there is good government: But where they are increased, either in degree, or duration, beyond what is requisite to that end; there is tyranny: Where they are unlimited, or infinite; there is the greatest

greatest tyranny : For to punish a criminal in an excessive degree, and beyond what the ends of good government require, is as real injustice and cruelty, as to inflict a lesser degree of punishment upon an innocent person. For in both cases, it is equally inflicting misery, not to answer any necessary, or useful end, but for the mere sake of increasing misery ; which is the *worst end* that can be conceived.

There neither is, nor can be, any other difference, between the best and the worst government possible ; than that the former is administered with a view to produce and maintain the greatest virtue and happiness, and to prevent, or extinguish, as much as possible, wickedness and misery ; and the latter with a view to prolong and encrease wickedness and misery. Now, whether the *endless* preservation of wicked spirits, in order to inflict upon them *infinite* miseries, be more consistent with the *former*, or the *latter* kind of government ; is not difficult to be determined. Their wickedness, or their misery, may be a reason in the mind of a good governor, for destroying them : But the contrary, *v. z.* preserving them for ever in a state of wickedness and misery, appears more conducive to the ends of the *worst* government, than of the *best*.

248. *The Pillars of PRIESTCRAFT*

To alledge that human ignorance is so great, and our ideas of what is fittest and best, so imperfect, that we can form no judgment of what the ends of divine government may require; and that therefore, for ought we know, *infinite* punishment, and the *endless* existence of some beings in the *greatest* misery, may be made subservient, by the incomprehensible wisdom of providence, to the greatest virtue and happiness of the universe;—is only arguing from a *supposed possibility* against the greatest *probability*; and endeavouring, under color of human ignorance, to screen a doctrine apparently most injurious to the character of the Supreme Being.

In human governments, extreme and lingering punishments are a certain mark of barbarity, and a criterion by which to distinguish a *tyrant* from a *just and good prince*. In the best constituted governments, punishments are the mildest, in the worst, the severest. For a perfect *tyranny*, is supported solely by *fear*; but a just and legal government, by *better* principles and affections. And whether, the *best*, or the *worst* governments on earth, are most *like the divine*; whether the greatest *tyrants*, or the most beneficent and *merciful princes*, most
resemble

resemble the perfect governor of the universe; no one will hesitate in deciding:

But, indeed, in all human governments, even the worst; *death* (which is *annihilation* in respect to human society) is the ultimate punishment: And all that is added, by those judges who proceed to the extremest rigor is an augmentation for a short space of time, of the horrors and agonies preceding, or attending the execution. And it is hardly to be conceived, that any prince; though absolute in power; tyrannical in disposition, and both injured and incensed to the highest degree, would not, in length of time, think justice satisfied, if not feel his own resentment satiated, by the extreme and lasting miseries of the criminal: And the idea of making these miseries everlasting, was this in his power, would be found too abhorrent to reason and humanity, to be long entertained in a human breast.

How then can we think of imputing a procedure exceeding the severity of the greatest tyrant, and of the worst of governments on earth, to that Being, whom we stile the best; whose tender mercies are over all his works; whom we ought to love with all our hearts, and to contemplate with the greatest delight;

and in whose designs and measures we ought to place an entire confidence? Why do we stile him *most merciful*? Why address him as **THE FATHER OF MANKIND**?—A *father*, indeed, may punish a wicked and disobedient son: *i. e.* May withdraw his favour from him, may disinherit him, may inflict stripes, or other penalties upon him; nay, acting as magistrate and judge, may put him to death. But what should we think of that *father*, who acting in the capacity of a judge over his offending offspring, would not be satisfied (be their crimes ever so great) either with their total destruction, or their suffering for any limited duration, or the addition of the former to the latter; but who would rather judge them to *live for ever*, than to *perish for ever in fire unquenchable*?—How could such a judgment consist either with the equity of government, or the clemency of a judge? How much less with the disposition of a *parent*?—How vain is it to compliment the Almighty with the titles of *most just* and *most merciful*; if at the same time we ascribe to him a conduct, not only inconsistent with the *paternal* character, but irreconcilable to our clearest notions of *justice* as well as *mercy*?

Nothing

Nothing is of greater importance to religion, than to preserve the character of the Supreme Being inviolate: For without this foundation it cannot be supported; but will be apt to degenerate into slavish superstition, or a blind and savage enthusiasm. Yet, perhaps, no character in the world has been more mistaken, or misadvised, and, consequently, suffered more reproach and injury from the tongues and pens of men: Whilst not understanding the nature and end of government in general; nor having formed any clear and consistent notions of justice and mercy, or of that public utility, which ought always to be intended and answered, by punishing as well as by rewarding; they have erected, in their own imagination, a scheme of government, according to their own narrow, partial, arbitrary, or enthusiastic conceits; and have fondly imputed this scheme, to the most sublime Being, whose wisdom and goodness are infinite, whose thoughts and designs excel those of the wisest and best of men, *as the heavens are above the earth.*

Nothing then can be more becoming those, who are appointed to be ministers of religion, and guardians of its truth and purity, than to vindicate God's government of the

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world,

world, and to rescue that most sublime and sacred character, which we should always contemplate with the highest veneration and affection, from those unworthy notions, which men are apt to intermix with their belief of a deity; and especially, from those black calumnies, by which he is represented as no better, in effect, than the greatest tyrant, instead of being the most just, beneficent and merciful governor. For the influence which religion has upon the dispositions and morals of mankind, will be useful; or hurtful; in proportion as their sentiments of the Divine Nature and government are good, or evil. The worst evils of superstition and enthusiasm have their source in an unjust, or partial opinion of the deity. Nor can the belief of his existence, or almighty power, produce many good effects, separate from a belief of his perfect justice and goodness. A just esteem of the deity, therefore, is that spring of true religion and virtue, which ought to be preserved, as much as possible, pure and untainted in the minds of men.

It is more curious and difficult than necessary, to account for the propensity of mankind, to receive and retain such ill impressions of the deity, and his government of the world. Whether they may be ascribed to those fears

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and horrors, which are apt sometimes, especially in some persons, to seize and wholly possess the imagination, and thereby disturb and over-power their reason:—Or, to their violent resentments against those who offend and injure them, which tempt them to avenge themselves in proportion to their own power, rather than to do justice in proportion to the offence; and hence lead them to imagine, that the greater power the person offended is possessed of, the greater punishment he will consequently inflict:—Or, whether they may be owing in some instances to the strength of any other passions;—so much is certain, that human passions and affections, either separate or united, have a great influence upon their understandings, and contribute both to form and confirm their particular sentiments of the character and disposition of the Supreme Being.

It may be equally difficult to trace out with any precision, how such opinions have actually arisen and spread in the world; particularly this barbarous notion of a state of never-ending misery and torment. The heathen poets adopted the vulgar fables, in regard to the different species of the infernal torments. And *Virgil* assigns a perpetual duration of misery to some.

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some criminals; — “*Sed t æternumque seclabit infelix Theſeus* :” — though to others he is so favourable as to allow, in process of time, a release : So that this doctrine has a remarkable conformity to the popish hell and purgatory. — But it was the business of the poets to affect the imagination : And to this end, they made the like use of the fabulous traditions of their times, as *Shakeſpear* does of his witches and apparitions. — These were the *pastorum & pictorum portenta*, which *Cicero*, as a philosopher, speaks of with so much contempt, as to say “ Who can be so senseless as to give any credit to them ?”

Mahmet seems to adopt the doctrine of eternal torments in good earnest ; and thunders it out, not only against criminals, but against all who do not receive his *Koran*. His language is, “ They shall undergo the rigour of an infinite pain. — They shall never be eased in their torments. — They shall be eternally confined in the fire of hell. — They shall dwell there eternally. — God will change their burned skin into a new skin, that they may suffer the more. — He hath prepared hell for them, where they shall remain eternally. — The infidels shall be compassed with flames of hell. — They shall

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“ have shirts of fire.—Boiling water shall flow
 “ in upon their heads :—The fire shall burn
 “ what is in their bellies, and shall roast their
 “ skin.—They shall be beaten with clubs of
 “ iron.—When they think to go out of this
 “ fire, they shall enter further into it.—They
 “ shall *not die* in those torments, and their tor-
 “ ture shall never be asswaged.—They shall
 “ in vain implore succour of God.—They
 “ shall demand of the keeper of the fire,
 “ Will thy lord never deliver us from these
 “ pains ?—He shall answer them, Ye shall
 “ abide there eternally.—They shall never get
 “ out of this fire, neither be able to repent.—
 “ Their pains, shall be augmented, and pains
 “ upon pains.”

It appears then, that this doctrine of eternal torments, is certainly a *Mahometan*, if not a *Heathen* doctrine. But whether it be a *Jewish*, or a *Christian* doctrine remains a subject of inquiry.

I have not yet been able to discover any thing like it, in the writings of the *Old testament* : And am fully convinced that *those passages* in the New, which have been thought to imply it most strongly, do directly, and in the strongest manner imply the contrary.—And
 for

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for proof of this, I beg leave to refer you to a discourse, now going to be published ‡.

If the expressions of *being thrown into a furnace of fire—cast into a lake of fire—into everlasting fire—into hell, where the worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched*;—do not import a total destruction, or annihilation; I must confess myself to be utterly at a loss; and must beg your kind assistance, in order to find out the meaning of them.

If I tell a man whose house is on fire, that that fire is *unquenchable*; the meaning is the same, as if I told him, that his house would be entirely destroyed. If I tell a gardener, whose plants, or the blossoms, are infected by the worm, That he cannot kill that worm, or, that *it will not die*; it is the same thing as if I told him; that his fruit will come to nothing; or his plants die. Or, if a patient is afflicted with a distemper, which is supposed to proceed from worms, and he is told that *the worm will not die*; the meaning of the phrase must be, that the disease will end in the death of the patient. And if such phrases be considered as proverbial among the Jews, and that when any person fell into any distemper, or calamity, that would certainly end in destruction, it was usual for

‡. See the Author's Sermons, vol. 2.

them to say, "That is a worm that will not die;" or, "That is a fire that will not be quenched;" the sense is perfectly intelligible: They meant that it was a lost case; that there was no possibility of preventing the destruction of the person, or thing, to which they applied the proverb.

Besides, there is something absurd and *contradictory* in the image made use of, if we suppose chaff, wood, or other useless materials, thrown into an unquenchable fire, and yet not to be consumed and destroyed in that fire; or, a living creature cast into it, and yet preserved alive for ever in it: For, throwing into the fire is always understood, to be the most effectual way to *destroy* a thing: And the *less extinguishable* the fire is, the *more certainly* will the subject thrown in be *consumed*. And the original term, καλαραειν, properly translated, is, to *burn up*, or *utterly consume by fire*: which is directly contrary to a being preserved in the fire. *Who shall burn up the chaff with unquenchable fire.* John iii. 12. The expression here is probably borrowed from Malachi iv. 1. *For behold the day cometh that shall burn as an oven; and all the proud, yea, and all that do wickedly shall be stubble; and the day that cometh shall burn them up, saith the lord of hosts, that*
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it shall leave them neither root nor branch.—

Similar to this is the expression in the epistle to the Hebrews: *Our God is a CONSUMING fire, καταναλίσκων*: Which signifies, utterly destroying; the very reverse of preserving.— There is, indeed, so direct a contradiction between the idea of preserving any creature alive, and that of throwing it into a fire, a fire that cannot be extinguished; that if duly considered, it is amazing how men came to join so opposite ideas together, or imagine them to be consistent. This inconsistency *Mabomet* ridiculously attempts to reconcile by saying, “That God will change their burned skin into a new skin, that they may suffer the more.”

Fire is, indeed, an instrument of *torture*, as well as of *destruction*. But why men should think it more becoming the most just and merciful governor of the world, to make it an instrument of *everlasting torment* to his offending creatures, rather than of their *everlasting destruction*; or why, they should be disposed to take the words of Scripture in a sense contradictory to reason, justice and humanity, when they will not only admit of, but are *most naturally* understood in a different sense, agreeable to justice and clemency; is to me inconceivable.

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The subject is reducible, as far as the christian revelation is concerned, to this single question: Whether the afore-mentioned expressions are intended to convey to us the idea of everlasting torture, or of everlasting destruction, *i. e.* annihilation?—Perhaps some may be inclined to think, that they serve to convey ideas, both of torment, and of total destruction. With such persons (if there are any) I desire to have no controversy. Because on this supposition, the torment or misery cannot be infinite. And it is only that Mahometan, Pagan, and (as I must confess it appears to me at present) most absurd, cruel anti-christian, and diabolical doctrine of *infinite*, or *never-ending* misery and torment, which I am opposing, and endeavouring to eradicate: “*Quam excutere opinionem* (to use the words of *Cicero*) *mihimet vultui radicitus.*”

That there are passages in the New Testament which imply, that the sentence of eternal death shall be executed upon criminals with circumstances of ignominy, horror and pain, *proportionate* to their guilt, I readily allow and affirm: Yet am not of opinion, that the figures of being *cast into unquenchable fire*, and the like, are intended to convey to us *any* idea
of

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of torment, but *solely* that of total *destruction*, or annihilation, or ceasing to exist. And the passage in the book of Revelations, where it is said, that *death and hell* (i. e. *Hades*) *shall be cast into the lake of fire*, seems to me decisive in this point. For certainly the meaning there is, not that *death and Hades* shall be *tormented* (which is ridiculous) but that they shall be *abolished*.

But it is not my design, either to trouble you with a superfluous repetition of what hath been suggested in the discourse referred to, or to *exhaust* the subject: But only to represent to you in few words, the view which I have of it at present; and to intreat your friendly assistance, in further explaining the subject, and either rectifying, or confirming my sentiments.

And give me leave to say, Sir, that it is a subject worthy of your pen: That according as the doctrine of future punishment is differently explained and believed, it will very differently affect mens opinion of the Supreme Being: And that in a cause, in which the honour of God, and the credit of the christian revelation, are so immediately concerned, you cannot find yourself unconcerned.

For

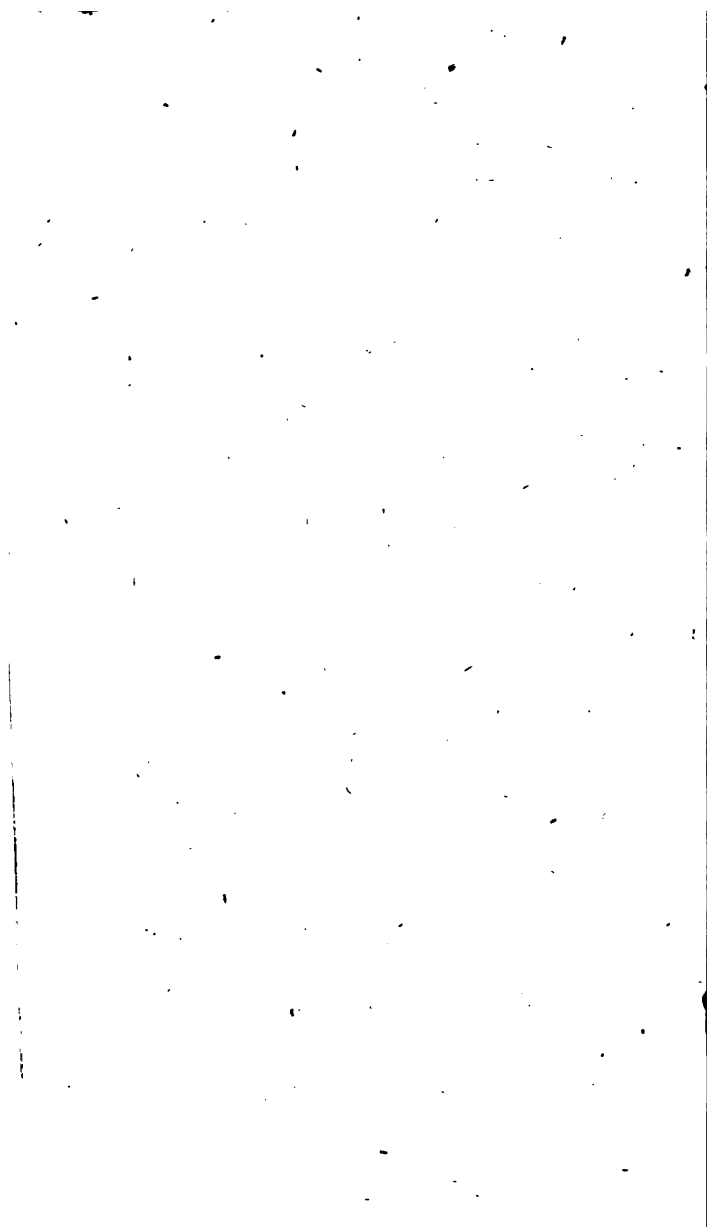
For my own part, I am persuaded, that the vulgar notion of eternal torments has been productive, not of virtue and happiness, but of wickedness and misery in the world, where it has been most seriously and steddily believed. However, consequences are not the subject of our enquiry, but the truth of the doctrine. The proper question is, what is the doctrine of our Saviour?—When that is determined; if any man, after allowing the doctrine to be *his*, yet shall impute ill effects to it, or assert that it ought not to be preached, or published; he pretends to be wiser than our Saviour, and is guilty of an arrogance inconsistent with his christian profession.

That you bear a more free and noble mind than to be influenced by vulgar prejudices, or infected with an itch of popularity, or biased by any mean considerations; I am most willing to believe. And therefore hope, that you will favour myself and others, with a public explanation of your sentiments; and, if you think proper to take pen in hand, cannot easily doubt of your doing ample justice to so important and interesting a subject.

I am, with sincere esteem,

Your's, &c.

SAMUEL BOURN.



THE
Merciful Judgments
OF
High-Church Triumphant

On offending

CLERGYMEN,

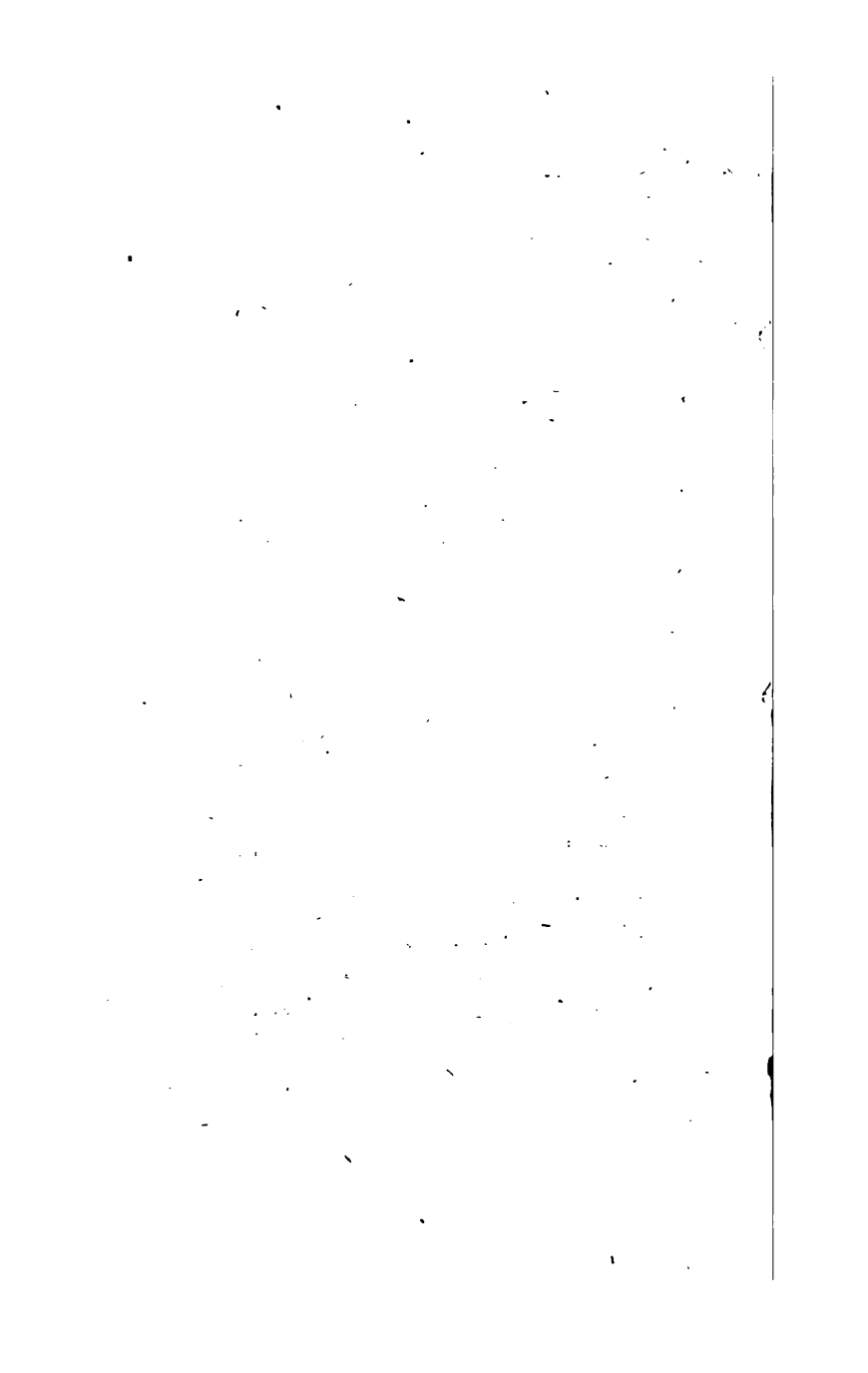
And others

In the REIGN of CHARLES I.

Better it were there were no reveal'd religion, and that human nature were left to the conduct of its own principles and inclinations, which are much more mild and merciful, much more for the peace and happiness of human society; than to be acted by a religion that inspires men with so vile a fury, and prompts them to commit such outrages.
Tillotson's Serm. Vol. 3. p. 19.

by Matthew Sandall

First printed in the Year 1710.



*The Merciful Judgments of High-Church
Triumphant, &c.*

THE High-church clergy, ever since one of their brethren * has been under a parliamentary prosecution for his seditious sermons, talk in a very unusual strain for liberty of speech, and of the injustice of punishing men for their opinions; and cry, if they are not permitted to discharge their consciences in the pulpit, and to tell the people without any restraint their duty, especially in matters of the highest consequence, the great use of preaching will be lost: for who will regard what they say, when they dare not speak their thoughts, but must be forced to suit their doctrine to the humours, passions, prejudices, or designs of great men? Nay, the boldest among 'em don't scruple to surmise, that if the power of preaching what they judge to be the truth, be derived to 'em from a divine commission, they can't see how they are

* Dr. Sacheverel.

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accountable

accountable to the laity for what they say or act in execution of such a commission: and that if they are subject in this respect to powers infinitely inferior to God, from whom alone they receive their commission, they can have no pretence of being independent in any other point, by virtue of a divine commission.

After they have urged this, and all they can think on for an uncontrouled liberty of venting what they please in the pulpit, then they cry, if they must be punished for discharging their consciences there, it ought to be with all due reverence, regard and tenderness to their sacred character, as they were treated in the reign of that pious martyr *Charles I.* who at his coronation, to shew what a regard he was resolved to have for their holy function, and how he would exalt them above the nobility and gentry, caused this exhortation to be read to him by the archbishop, in the presence of the peers and all the other great persons who attended the solemnity*: *As you see the CLERGY come nearer to the altar* (which was afterwards rail'd in, to exclude the laity from approaching it too near) *than others, so remember that in all places convenient you give them greater honour; that the mediator of God and man may establish*

* *Hist. of Engl. in fol.* vol. 3. p. 13.

you in the kingly throne, to be a mediator between the clergy and the laity. Such a blessed reign, say they, when the reformed religion did so much flourish, and the church was maintained in its genuine purity, free from all popish and fanatical superstition, ought to be a precedent to all future ages.

The talking after this rate ill becomes those, who are for manacling and shackling the clergy with early subscription to certain creeds, articles, and canons; and are not only for depriving them of all their preferments, but otherwise punishing them, if they presume to preach contrary to such creeds, &c. tho' in the most speculative points.

The utmost for which men of the greatest freedom contend, and which makes them to be called atheists by these highfliers, is, that in such things wherein neither the public nor private is injured, but which relate only to God and a man's own self, liberty of conscience ought to be preserved inviolate to all persons, and the pulpit as well as the press left intirely free.

But 'tis the papists, and such other rigid fanatics, who maintain that preachers are not at all accountable to the lay-powers for whatever they

say in the pulpit : But certainly sedition is as much sedition in the pulpit as out of it ; nay, 'tis more criminal for being spoke so publicly, and from a place where 'tis like to have a greater effect ; and from one whose business it is to preach all that tends to the peace and welfare of human society. Whoever therefore is guilty of this crime, most grossly abuses that liberty the government allows him, of talking without interruption for an hour together : and the proper punishment for men who have so publicly vented seditious doctrines, is for them to be as publicly exposed, that the pillory may expiate the crime of the pulpit ; and the nearer that is placed to this, the same persons who heard him aloft in one, have the better opportunity of viewing him on the other : by which means, their being blindly led into a belief of his doctrine by too great a reverence for his person, may be happily prevented.

I don't see how that profound reverence, which the priests pretend is due to them, can serve to any other end, than to impose on the people, and make them swallow the most absurd doctrines which they dogmatically dictate from the pulpit. The preachers indeed can't well treat the people with too much reverence, since the word of God not only makes them
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the judges of their doctrines, but obliges them, if they judge them to be *false teachers, seducers, deceivers* (and certainly common beautefeus and incendiaries are the greatest) *to fly and shun them*, as they would the most poisonous and infectious animals, or as even the devil himself, the great seducer and deceiver of mankind. And he who is to be treated thus by every body, can pretend to no character, which may exempt him from the most infamous punishment, if it be otherwise proper.

The chief business of a clergyman is to set a good example to his congregation; and if he discharges his duty in that matter, he acts honestly in his profession: but if he takes a contrary method, he acts like a witness who perjures himself, or a retailer who uses false weights or measures; because they are alike guilty of a breach of trust in their own proper callings, and therefore ought to be alike subject to the same punishment.

But since high-church refers us to the reign of a prince, who was ambitious of the honour of being thought the mediator between the clergy and laity (tho' in truth he acted more like a party-man) we will see whether the treatment which clergymen as well as others

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met with in his reign, when they were so unhappy as to fall under the displeasure of high-church, which then rid triumphant, are fit precedents for this reign of gentleness and moderation. And in doing this, I can't but let the reader see, whether those who then governed the church, were for preserving it free from superstition, and maintaining the reformation in its native purity.

And the first instance I shall give of the tender regard which was had to clergymen, shall be the treatment of *Alexander Leighon*, D. D *. who for reflecting on the prelacy, and charging the bishops with persecution, and calling the queen a daughter of *Heth*, with such-like expressions, in a book intitled, *An appeal to parliament*; was sentenced to a perpetual imprisonment, to a fine of 10000 *l.* to be degraded, to be pillory'd and whipt, to have his ears cut off, his nose slit, and his face branded: all which sentence was most severely executed upon him.

The next instance I shall give of high-church moderation, is the pillorying of the three professions of divinity, law and physick, all at once †: For in the 13 *Car.* 1. there was an

* Hist. of *Engl.* vol. 3. p. 60.

† *Russw. collect. abridg'd*, vol. 2. p. 273, &c.
infor-

information in the star-chamber against the reverend Mr. *Burton*, a divine of the church of *England*, and a *London* minister; Mr. *Prynn*, a barrister of *Lincolns-inn*; and Dr. *Bastwick*, a physician; for writing seditious schismatical books against the hierarchy of the church, to the scandal of the government. The defendants tendered their answers themselves to the court; but because all their council had not signed them (which none but very bold men would then venture to do, and Mr. *Holt* was threatened to have his gown pulled over his ears for drawing *Burton's* answer) the court took the advantage of this, and without more ado ordered each of them to be taken *pro confesso*; and the pillory, loss of their ears, their faces and foreheads branded with hot irons, perpetual imprisonment, and a fine of 5000*l.* each, was their sentence: nay, Mr. *Prynn* was not only to lose the remainder of his ears, but to be stigmatized on both cheeks with the letter *L. S.* signifying a seditious libeller; and the reverend Mr. *Burton* was deprived of his benefice in *London*, degraded from his function, and degrees in the university, where he had proceeded bachelor of divinity. This barbarous sentence was most barbarously executed: for *Burton's* and *Bastwick's* ears were

* *Clarendon*, vol. 1. fol. p. 73. *Rushw.* *ibid.*

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any visit him, to be fined some 500 l. some 300 l. others 250 l. But Mr. Pryn was not long at *Carnarvon* castle (which, tho' a sandy hole, was thought too good for him) ere he was removed to *Mount Orgueil* in the *Island of Jersey*; where by an extraordinary order under the king's hand, none but his keepers were permitted to speak with him, and all his letters intercepted, and he not allowed pen, ink, or paper to write for necessities, or to beg for relief. And in his petition to the commons, when released, he says "He desired the archbishop, to desire him to retain his servant, that he might mend his clothes"; which out of his charity he utterly refused, saying, "I will not proceed against him in the night."

where he had ever since been from prison to prison, and was accused him the person who had killed, or Mr. *Baxter* having a double character, and after a while; both of which were being feet on the *Islands* where

Mr. Pryn's former trial was proper to let the reader

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pared so close by the high-church executioner, that he cut their arteries, and thereby caused a great effusion of blood; and he not only scared *Prynn's* cheeks with an exceeding hot iron, but in taking away what was left of one of his ears, pared off a piece of his cheek, and left a piece of his other ear hanging on for some time, after he had barbarously hacked it. But this inhuman usage of Mr. *Prynn* did not satisfy father *Laud*, but he moved the court then sitting to have him gagged, and some farther punishment inflicted on him, for saying, 'If all the martyrs that suffered in queen *Mary's* days, are called schismatical heretics, factious fellows, traitors, and rebels, condemned by holy church, what can we look for? Yet so they are stiled by Dr. *Pocklington* in his *Altare Christianum*, licenced by the archbishop's own chaplain;' for which Dr. *Pocklington* and the archbishop's chaplain were both afterwards censured by the lords. But tho' the merciful archbishop could not prevail on the rest of the judges to inflict greater cruelties on Mr. *Prynn*, yet to gratify his revenge, he caused several who at *Chester* * and other places had shew'd civilities to Mr. *Prynn*, as he was carrying prisoner to *Carnarvan* castle, tho' his keepers were not forbid to let

* *Review*. abr. vol. 2. p. 295, &c.

any visit him, to be fined some 500 *l.* some 300 *l.* others 250 *l.* But Mr. *Prynn* was not long at *Carnarvan* castle (which, tho' a nasty hole, was thought too good for him) ere he was removed to *Mount Orgueil* in the island of *Jersey*; where by an extraordinary order under *Laud's* hand, none but his keepers were permitted to speak with him, and all his letters were intercepted, and he not allowed pen, ink and paper to write for necessities, or to petition for relief. And in his petition to the house of commons, when released, he says 'he sent to the archbishop, to desire him to release or bail his servant, that he might attend him during his fores*; which out of his grace and charity he utterly refused, saying, 'He would proceed against him in the high commission, where he has ever since been vexed, and sent from prison to prison, only for refusing to accuse him the petitioner.' Nor was Dr. *Bastwick*, or Mr. *Burton* notwithstanding his indelible character, used after a more humane manner; both their wives being forbid to set their feet on the islands where they were prisoners.

Having mentioned Mr. *Prynn's* former sufferings, 'twill not be improper to let the reader

* *Ruslow*. vol. 3. p. 300.

obedience to what was enjoined by the liturgy, tho' they knew not what it contained, it not being ready till a year after or thereabouts †. This no doubt was politicly done by him, since he could not but see, that if he once made the whole body of that clergy blindly swear to they knew not what, they could with a very ill grace pretend conscience for refusing to comply with any of his impositions. And much of a piece with this was the obliging the *English* clergy to swear, as they were bound by the canons of 40, to a government of, &c. Now were there no &c. in the case, yet an oath that obliges men, especially those who are concerned in the legislature, not to endeavour to alter the government of the church, must be, to say no worse, a very rash oath, because it is designed to hinder men from doing their duty, if ever they come to think this government inconvenient or unlawful.

But to return, during *Pryn's* imprisonment, Dr. *Bastwick* was brought into the high-commission court, for a book entitled *Elencbus Papismi*, writ in answer to a book of one *Short* a profess'd papist; for which he was condemned to a fine of a thousand pounds, to be excommunicated, debarred his practice of physic,

† *Cleric. hist.* fol. book 2. p. 82.

his book to be burnt, and he to be imprisoned till he made a recantation *; or, in other words, disowned the king's prerogative, the defending of that being the great fault of his book.

And what made those gentlemen, *Prynn*, *Burton*, and *Bastwick* so very criminal, was their complaining of several innovations in the church (in defence of which, at their censure, *Laud* made a very large speech, which is printed in the history of his troubles) and for not allowing bishops to be *Jure Divino* †, and for maintaining that they incroached on the king's prerogative, particularly in keeping courts, and issuing out processes in their own names. For this they exhibit a cross bill against the bishops; upon which the archbishop demanded the opinion of the judges, whether they could not be punished as libellers, who all but one answered negatively, for that it was tendered in a legal way. Upon this the star-chamber prevailed on eleven of the twelve judges, who had declared for the legality of shipmony, to declare likewise for the legality of bishops issuing out processes, and keeping courts in their own names.

* *Whitlick's Memoirs*, p. 21, 22.

† *R. Shaw. abridg.* vol. 2. p. 275.

High-church have in particular great reason to thank God for the freedom men enjoy under the present administration; for had they lived in those days, and took the same liberty to rail at the bishops then as they do now, in representing them as enemies of their order, betrayers of the rights of the christian church, &c. they would have undergone as severe punishment as those three confessors, who bore all their sufferings, tho' they had no prospect of seeing an end of them, with incredible courage and resolution.

The next I shall mention is the reverend Mr. *Smart*, a prebendary of *Durham*, who was kept prisoner at *York* four months before any articles were exhibited against him, and five before a proctor was allowed him*: Thence he was removed to the high-commission at *Lambeth*, and after long trouble remanded to *York*, fined 500 l. committed to prison, ordered to recant, and for refusing fined again, excommunicated, degraded, and deprived; his damage amounting in the whole to thousands of pounds: and yet all the crime this poor man was guilty of, was his presuming to preach against some innovations that

* *Fuller's Church History*, p. 173.

Dr. *Cosins*, a creature of *Laud's* had introduced into the church of *Durham*, where he had set up a marble altar, with all the appurtenances, namely, a cope with the Trinity, and God the Father in the figure of an old man; another with a crucifix, and the image of Christ with a red beard and blue cap: which was every whit as scandalous as *Laud's* causing the popish picture of the Trinity, where God the Father was drawn like a little old man, to be painted afresh at *Lambeth**: or his speaking in favour of that painter, who to express God the Father, had painted on the glass divers little old men barefooted, and in long blue coats, because God is called in Scripture *the Ancient of Days*. But I refer the reader to *Rushworth*†, where he will see that the recorder of *Sarum* for pursuing an order of vestry for breaking down this most scandalous picture, deprived of his recordership, fined 500 *l.* and obliged to acknowledge his offence to the bishop of the diocese; tho' the church, in which this picture was, was a lay-fee, and exempt from all episcopal jurisdiction.

I shall now give some account of Dr. *Cosin's* innovations, which were so very scandalous,

* See *Laud's* def. in *Prynne*, p. 463.

† *Rushw.* abridg. vol. 2. p. 124.

that

that he was impeached in parliament for them, and the commons preferred twenty one articles against him *; some of which were, that he not only used many extraordinary bowings to the altar, but violently compelled others to do the same, and called some gentlewomen whores, jades and pagans, and tore their clothes for omitting it : That at the first *Candlemas* after his coming to that church, he caused three hundred wax-candles to be lighted in honour of our Lady, and placed sixty of them upon or about the altar (*Fuller* adds, that he forbade any psalms to be sung before or after sermon, but substituted in their place an anthem in praise of the three kings of *Colen*) That he framed a superstitious ceremony at lighting the tapers on the altar, in causing a company of boys to enter the church with burning torches, and to bow thrice towards the altar, and then to retreat with their face towards it : That he beat in the church, to the great disturbance of the congregation, the dean's man, for offering to put out, at his master's command, some of the many unnecessary lights he had set up in the church : That in a sermon he said, that our reformers, when they abolished the mass, took away all good order ; and instead of reformation, made a deformation : That he said, that

* *Rushworth*, abridg. vol. 3. p. 383.

the king had no more power over the church than the boy that rubbed his horse's heels ; and not only called one of the canons rogue, rascal, &c but laid violent hands on him in his own house, for complaining of these words ; and afterward he endeavoured by many unjust stratagems to have him turned out of his place. What happy days and glorious times were these, when high-church could ruin a man for but preaching against such innovations, for the sake of which Dr. *Cofins* was preferred to a good deanery by *Laud* ! And what are we now to expect, if the *Laudean* faction rides triumphant !

Nay, high-church priests were then grown so insolent, that the reverend Mr. *Harrison* came to the common-pleas bar, all the courts then sitting, and cried aloud, *I accuse Mr. Justice Hutton of high treason** : and said that he made choice of this public way, because the other had as publicly delivered his opinion against shipmony. And being asked what point of high treason he accused him of ; he answered, " That he denied the king's supremacy, in " affirming the king had no lawful power to " levy shipmony ; contrary to the opinion of " all the orthodox divines in the kingdom."

* Ibid. vol. 2. p. 474.

Indeed if the opinions of all the orthodox divines that preached up the lawfulness of the king's levying taxes without consent of parliament had been printed, it would have made as large a book as *the history of Passive Obedience*; where the opinions of as orthodox divines are mentioned, to prove that our all, our very lives depend on the will and pleasure of one who is intrusted with power by the legislature, for no other reason than the defence of our lives and liberties.

But to shew there was no character or post in church or state that could exempt one from being treated after the most barbarous manner, who would not come in to the arbitrary measures of those times, I shall instance in Dr. *Williams* bishop of *Lincoln*, who with so much honour supported the dignity of lord-keeper under king *James*, and lost the seals with as great honour under king *Charles*, for having joined with other patriots in opposing the duke of *Buckingham* in parliament*: nay, he had not only the seals taken from him, but was not allowed to do his homage to the king with the rest of the spiritual lords at the coronation, and to execute his office as dean of *Westminster* in assisting at it; and after that

* *Hist. of England*, vol. 3. p. 14.

was denied a parliamentary summons: which tho' at last, upon a motion in parliament, it was obtained, yet he had a particular charge from the lord keeper not to appear in person, and it was with some difficulty that he got leave to make a proxy*. But what provoked the court most, was, that he had the honesty and courage, while the court-bishops and clergy were justifying the king's levying money without parliament, to declare against the loan (which obliged people to pay after the rate of four subsidies and three fifteenths) This occasioned an information of other matters to be preferred against him in the star-chamber, and other hardships to be put on him by the court. But that which effectually did his business was, that he acted like a christian and protestant, and a true promoter of the king's as well as the kingdom's real interest, in preventing the subjects from being ruined by the ecclesiastical courts for matters of opinion, and their affections alienated from the prince: and therefore he advised Dr. *Lamb* dean of the arches, Dr. *Sibthorp*, and some proctors, who were at dinner with him at *Bugden*, 'to take off their heavy hands from the puritans; informing them that his majesty intended here-

* Hist. of Engl. p. 28. 37.

“ after

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‘ after to use them with more mildness, as a
‘ considerable party that had influence on the
‘ parliament, without whose assistance the king
‘ could not comfortably supply his necessities :
‘ adding, that the king had communicated to
‘ him, by his own mouth, his resolution of
‘ dealing more gently with men of that opi-
‘ nion*.’

Some years after this advice, an information was given in the star-chamber, by *Lamb* and *Sibthorp*, that the bishop did give great discouragement to their proceedings against the puritans, and that he asked *Lamb* whether the puritans did not pay loan-money † ; to which he answered, they did conform in that part, but that nevertheless they were puritans, not conformable to the church. To which the bishop replied, *If they pay their money so readily to the king, the puritans are the king's best subjects, and I am sure they will carry all at last.* But as to this information, either the matter was thought too frivolous, or even such a poor story wanted sufficient evidence to support it ; and therefore the attorney-general let fall this bill, and preferred another against the bishop for tam-

* *Fuller's Church History*, p. 155.

† *History of England*, vol. 3. p. 84.

pering with the king's witnesses in this very cause, which himself had dropt.

All the vilest methods were used to frighten the bishop's witnesses, and some of them not permitted, after a long and close imprisonment, to have their liberty, till they owned, under their hands, crimes both against themselves and the bishop*; which afterwards they denied on their oaths; while no exceptions were allowed against the king's witnesses, but their credit was to be esteemed sacred in all they avered or deposed for the king. But I refer the reader to *Hacket's* life of *Williams*, to see what villainous instruments, perjuries, subornations, expunging and rasing of records were made use of by his grand adversary *Laud* to ruin his benefactor, whose greatest crime was, that he had been so instrumental in preferring so vile and ungrateful a man.

Indeed the whole management did appear so very gross to the parliament, that they not only ordered all the records relating to that suit to be obliterated, but it did hasten, as the historian† observes, if not chiefly cause the suppression of the court of star-chamber. The judgment was suitable to all the rest of

* *Fuller*, p. 158.

† *Ibid.*

the proceedings; for the bishop was fined ten thousand pounds, suspended a *beneficio & officio*, and to be imprisoned during the king's pleasure. Besides this, he was condemned to pay to Sir *John Mounson* a thousand marks, for saying that the order, he and some other justices made against *Prigeon*, a witness of the bishop's, was a *pocket-order*, and made in an inn.

This *Prigeon* was accused, in order to invalidate his testimony, of having a bastard, which was banded at *Lincoln* assizes between him and another*; one sessions fathering it on him, the next clearing him from it, the third returning it upon him again; which order was again dissolved by the king's bench, and *Prigeon* cleared from the child. And because the bishop's servants concerned themselves in behalf of *Prigeon*, therefore their master was not only condemned, as above-mentioned, for tampering with witnesses, but three of them were likewise fined, and one in no less than a thousand marks: and *Laud* made a speech of almost an hour long in the star-chamber, to aggravate the crime, and yet at the same time pretended he had been five times on his knees to the king in the bishop's behalf.

* *Rushw.* abridg. vol. 2. p. 317, &c.

The bishop during his close imprisonment in the *Tower*, which was about four years, was examined upon a book of articles of 24 sheets, written on both sides, in order to deprive him of his bishoprick*. One article was, That all books licenced by his Grace's chaplains, as *Chune* and *Sala*, popish books, with *Manwaring's* sermons, are presumed by all true subjects to be orthodox, and agreeable to sound religion. This the bishop utterly denied, and wondered at their impudence to propound such an article to him.

Another article related to the licensing of books, which he said, "belonged only to bishops, and to all bishops alike, and not to their servants: however, his Grace had shuffled in his chaplains in the last printed star-chamber decree." But more frivolous were the ensuing articles:

That he had called a book intituled, *A Coal from the Altar*, a pamphlet.

That he said, that all flesh in *England* had corrupted their ways.

* *Fuller*, p. 157.

That

That he said scoffingly, he had heard of a mother-church, but not of a mother-chapel, meaning the king's, to which all churches in ceremony were to conform.

That he had wickedly jested on St. *Martin's* hood.

That he said, the people are not to be lashed by every man's whip.

That he said, citing a national council for it, that the people are God's and the king's, and not the priest's people.

That he does not allow priests to jeer, and make invectives against the people.

It shews what a temper his adversaries were of, when they thought these articles of such a criminal nature, as that a bishop might be deprived for them: and it likewise shows what a regard they had to the character of a bishop, when of five persons who were to sit judges of his doctrine, with a power to deprive him of his bishoprick, three of them were lay-doctors: And tho' the bishop objected against his lay-judges, yet this was over-ruled, and he as one of the king's subjects required to make his answer.

All

All that had been hitherto done against the bishop of *Lincoln* did not satisfy the malice of his enemies, but they caused him to be fined again five thousand pound to the king, and three thousand pound to archbishop *Latud*; because forsooth one *Osbaldiston*, a schoolmaster at *Westminster*, writ letters to him, wherein were these words: *The little vermin, the urchin, and hocus pecus, is this stormy Christmas at variance with the leviathan* *. And the witnesses against the bishop were his two servants, who were before confined in the court of star-chamber for tampering with witnesses; whereof one was his secretary †, “ who the bishop “ said had a commission to open his letters in “ his absence; and if any such letters were “ found in his house, they were laid up and “ concealed by his secretary; and tho’ he had “ received such letters, no law directed the “ subject to bring to a justice of the peace “ enigmas or riddles, but plain, literal and “ grammatical libels against a known and “ clearly decyphered person: and that *Os- “ baldiston* denied that he designed archbishop “ *Latud* and the treasurer *Weston* by those “ words, but deposed on oath he meant other

* *Fuller's Church History*, p. 165.

† *Rushw. abridg.* vol. 3, p. 12, &c.

“ persons, whom ’twas proved he used to call “ by those names.” But this did no more excuse the bishop than the schoolmaster, who was fined 5000*l.* to the king, and to pay 5000 *l.* to the archbishop, deprived of all spiritual dignities and promotions, and his ears nailed to the pillory in the presence of his scholars. If men should be served so now for railing, not only in enigmas and riddles, but openly and plainly, at an archbishop, there would scarce be a high-church priest in the kingdom with any ears on.

But all this did not put an end to the bishop of *Lincoln’s* troubles *; for there was a new information of ten articles drawn up against him, tho’ for the main they were but the consequence and deductions of the supposed former fault, in tampering with witnesses, for which he had been so severely censured before. But the broils with *Scotland*, and other things intervening, put a stop to this prosecution; and not long after this *tamperer with witnesses* was made archbishop of *York*.

But the highest post in the church, the metropolitical see of all *England*, in a reign supposed so tender of the rights of the clergy,

* *Fuller’s Church History*, p. 165.

could not secure the good and wise archbishop *Abbot* from being treated very inhumanly, only for refusing to license a sermon of Dr. *Sibthorp's*, which directly subverted the whole constitution, and destroyed all property, in maintaining that the king had a divine right to impose taxes without consent of parliament, and that the subject, on pain of damnation, was obliged to pay them; and this he termed apostolical obedience. Nothing could satisfy good king *Charles*, but that the archbishop must license this sermon; which when he refused to do, the king sent him menace on menace, in order to fright him to a compliance; and *Laud*, then bishop of *St. David's*, was ordered by the king to answer the reasons, which the archbishop, who was then sick at *Lambeth*, sent to the king to excuse himself for not licensing *Sibthorp's* sermon: and for this service he was made a privy councillor. But the king being sensible how little his champion was able to cope with the archbishop, would not suffer him to have a copy of *Laud's* answer, or even to read it himself; and when he found the archbishop was immovable, he not only forbade him meddling with the high commission, but banished and confined him to an old house of his near *Canterbury*. But seeing this disgrace and confinement did not break the

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heart of the good old man, miserably afflicted with gout and stone, nor make him act against his conscience, there was a commission granted to *Laud* and some other bishops to try him for an irregularity, for which he had been acquitted seven years before by bishop *Andrews*, Sir *Edward Coke* and others *, whom king *James* had empowered to try him for this very thing. But 'tis not strange he should be now found guilty and suspended, when his judges were to be intrusted with his archiepiscopal power.

The good archbishop had the satisfaction to see these doctrines he refused to license disapproved by the king himself, in the proclamation he set forth for calling in *Manwaring's* sermons: But the world, which saw how soon after he had preferments heaped on him, could no more believe the king was in earnest, than *Manwaring* himself was when he made his recantation, especially when they saw this practised with relation to others, and that *Montague* †, soon after a proclamation to censure him for his book, had letters patents for a bishoprick.

* *Fuller's Church History.*

† *Hist. of England*, vol. 3. p. 52, 53.

Tho' these were the deep policies of the court at that time, yet the archbishop had the satisfaction to see the parliament very much in earnest in approving what he did, by censuring both *Sibthorp's* and *Manwaring's* sermons: And the articles on which the latter was impeached by the commons and condemned by the lords, were *

1. That he laboured to infuse into the conscience of the king, that his power was not limited by law; which king *James* in his speech to the parliament called tyranny, yea tyranny accompanied with perjury.

2. That he endeavoured to persuade the consciences of the subjects, that they are bound to obey illegal commands; yea he damns them for not obeying them.

3 He robs the subjects of the propriety of their goods.

4. He endeavours to set a division between the head and members, and between the members themselves.

* Hist. of Engl. p. 51.

5. That like *Faux* and his followers he seeks to blow up parliaments and parliamentary powers.

Are not all the preachers of absolute power in the prince, and unlimited obedience in the subjects, guilty of these damnable crimes? What can more effectually blow up parliaments, and all parliamentary powers, than making the lives and fortunes of all the good people of *England* depend on the will and pleasure of a single person? Such a precarious tenure makes us all *Turkey* slaves, and not free-born *Englishmen*: and consequently the preaching up that doctrine is the greatest treason that can be against the constitution.

If the clergy themselves, even the greatest of them, bishops and archbishops, were so barbarously dealt with, that would not come in to the arbitrary measures of high church, we can't think the laity had better usage, and therefore I shall only give an instance or two of their treatment. *Lilbourn* and *Wbarton* were put into the star-chamber court, for printing seditious books contrary to the decree of that court*: but refusing to take the oath

* *Russw.* abridg. vol. 2. p. 345.

ex officio, and insisting that no man was obliged to accuse himself, and that imposing this oath was contrary to the rights of freeborn *Englishmen*, were for their refusal set in the pillory, and fined 500 *l.* each, and *Lilbourn* whipped from the Fleet to the pillory; where for the liberty of speech that he took, and for dispersing of some pamphlets said, tho' never proved, to be seditious, he was by order of the court of star-chamber gag'd during the residue of the time he was to stand in the pillory, and afterward ordered to be laid alone in the wards of the prison, where none but the meanest sort are put, with double irons on his hands and legs, and none permitted to resort to him, and all letters, writings and books brought to him to be seized and delivered to the court.

When his judges were impeached in parliament for this sentence, the cruelty of his being whipt from the *Fleet* to *Westminster*, where he had at least 1500 stripes, was much insisted on. 'Twas urged, ' That even in *France* the judges would allow no more than 13 blows to a priest, who had persuaded a poor maid that St. *Francis* had a mind such a night to lie with her, and so feigning of himself St. *Francis*, was taken in bed with her : and that for the pillory, it was not designed for gentlemen as Mr. *Lilbourn* was, but was first

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‘invented for mountebanks and cheats, to exalt them in the same kind as they had exalted themselves upon benches and forms to abuse the people.’ And whether this reason does not extend to mountebanks in divinity, when being exalted in their wooden boxes, they abuse the people with seditious discourses, I leave the reader to judge.

The next instance I shall produce, to shew that no station could exempt a man, in those blessed times, from being prosecuted contrary to all law and justice, shall be of Sir *John Elliot*, Mr. *Denzil Hollis*, and several other members of the house of commons, who were proceeded against in the star-chamber for liberty of speech, so essential to all parliamentary debates : but after they had lain in prison about half a year, the process against them in that court was let fall, and they were prosecuted in the king’s bench, where the defendants put in a plea to the jurisdiction of the court * ; which being over-ruled, judgment past against each of them on a *nihil dicit*; and Sir *John Elliot* was fined 2000 *l.* *Hollis* 1000 marks, &c. and every one of them to be imprisoned during the king’s pleasure, and not to be delivered

* History of England, vol. 3, p. 49.

out of prison without giving security for their good behaviour, and owning their offence: which rather than do, like good patriots, they were content to suffer a long imprisonment (where several of them died) before they would betray the rights of parliament.

This liberty of speech was looked on as a greater crime in *Elliot* than others*, because he had before been enjoined silence in the house, by a command of the king, delivered him by the speaker; and had been before imprisoned for presuming to concern himself, tho' by order of the house, in the impeachment of the duke of *Buckingham* †, and for which he obtained a vote of the house that he had not exceeded his commission: and he was after that committed prisoner to the *Gatehouse* ‡, for not complying with the demand of the loan, and his petition for his discharge was rejected.

What provoked high-church chiefly against *Elliot*, was reflecting on that part of the king's declaration prefixed to the 31st article, where 'tis affirmed, *If there be any difference in opinion concerning the interpretation of the articles, the convocation has power to settle those disputes* §.

* *History of England*, p. 47. † *Ibid.* p. 23, 24.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 37. § *Ibid.* p. 47, & 54.

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This he said was giving them a power by which popery might be introduced: and the commons were so sensible of the fatal consequences that might attend religion if the convocation was trusted with such a power, that they entered a protestation against it.

Thus it was that all sorts of people were oppressed and ruined, without any more regard to their station or characters, than to law or justice; and the judges were so miserably overawed, that if a man did not stand right in the opinion of *Laud* and his minions, he was to expect no right in *Westminster-hall*: and it was rarely, very rarely, that they durst send any prohibitions to the ecclesiastical courts, how much soever they exceeded their bounds, even tho' the ecclesiastical high-commission court took to themselves a power of fining and imprisoning. And the court of common pleas sending a rule, in *Sir Giles Allington's* case, to the high commission, to shew cause why a prohibition should not be granted, was, says my author *, 'so bold a stroke in those days, 'when the clergy had got the whole power of 'the kingdom in their hands, that the king 'himself interposed, and by the lord keeper

* *Rubric.*, abridg. vol. 2. p. 87.

reprimanded the judges; and *Laud*, then bishop of *London*, threatened to excommunicate them in his own diocese, and to declare it at *Paul's cross*, in case the archbishop of *Canterbury* did not do it in his province. Which so overawed the judges, that they left *Sir Giles* to the mercy of the high commission court, where eight bishops and four civilians fined him 12000*l.* to the king.

My lord *Clarendon* says*, 'It can't be denied, that by the great power of some bishops at court, the high commission court had much overflowed its banks, not only by meddling with things not within their cognizance, but extending their judgments in matters triable before them beyond that degree that was justifiable; and grew to have so great a contempt of the common law, and the professors of it, that prohibitions from the supreme courts of law, which have and must have the superintendency over all inferior courts, were not only neglected, but the judges reprehended for granting them, which without perjury they could not deny; and the lawyers discountenanced for moving them, which they were obliged in duty to do, so that thereby the clergy made almost the

* Vol. 1. p. 221, 222.

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' whole profession, if not their enemies, yet
 ' very undevoted to them. Then it grew from
 ' an ecclesiastical court to a court of revenue,
 ' and imposed great fines; which course of
 ' fining was much more frequent, and the fines
 ' heavier after the king had granted all that
 ' revenue, whatsoever it should prove, to be
 ' employed for the reparation of *Paul's* church.'
 And in another place he says *, ' That the
 ' peevish spirits of some clergymen, had taken
 ' great pains to alienate the profession of the
 ' common law from them; and that others
 ' believed the straitening the profession of that
 ' law must necessarily enlarge the jurisdiction
 ' of the church. Hence, says he, arose their
 ' bold and unwarrantable opposing prohibi-
 ' tions, and other proceedings of law in behalf
 ' of the ecclesiastical courts.' And then adds,
 ' I never yet spoke with one clergyman, who
 ' hath had the experience of both litigations,
 ' that hath not ingenuously confessed, he had
 ' rather, in respect of his trouble, charge, and
 ' satisfaction to his understanding, have three
 ' suits depending in *Westminster-hall*, than one
 ' in the arches, or any other ecclesiastical court.'
 'Tis visible from this great man's opinion, how
 natural a tendency the principles of high-church

* Vol. 1. B. 4. p. 241, 242.

have to lead the clergy into a contempt of the common law, and the professors of it; and in consequence to trample upon all the rights of the people, which are only secured by a just administration of that law.

Had not high church been continually preaching up, that kings are superior to all human laws, as having by divine right an absolute power over the properties of their subjects, I am verily persuaded king *Charles's* reign had not been stained with so many acts of oppression, which were more and greater than the people felt in any, I might almost venture to say in all the reigns since the conquest till that time. In one year the king demands 100000 *l* of the city of *London* by way of loan; and not only forces them to pay it, but to fit out twenty men of war at their own expence †. Besides other taxes imposed by his own authority, my lord *Clarendon* says *, 'Supplemental acts of state were made to supply defect of laws; so tannage and poundage, and other duties upon merchandizes, were collected by order of the board, which had been positively refused to be settled by act of parliament, and now greater imposition laid

† *Russw. Hist. Coll. abridg. vol. 1. p. 267, 268.*

* *Clarendon's Hist. B. 1. p. 54, 55.*

' on trade. Obsolete laws were revived and
 ' rigorously executed, viz. Forest laws and
 ' knighthood [which last obliged all persons
 ' that had for the three last three years 40 *l. per*
annum in their hands, or for their use, to re-
 ' ceive the order of knighthood] And he adds,
 ' That no less unjust projects of all kinds,
 ' many ridiculous, many scandalous, and all
 ' very grievous, were set on foot; and that
 ' the council-chamber and star-chamber held
 ' for honourable that which pleased; and for
 ' just that which profited; and, being the same
 ' persons in several rooms, grew both courts
 ' of law to determine right, and courts of
 ' revenue to bring money into the treasury:
 ' the council-table by proclamation enjoining
 ' to the people what was not enjoined by the
 ' law, and prohibiting what was not prohibi-
 ' ed; and the star chamber censuring the
 ' breach of those proclamations by very large
 ' fines and imprisonment:† And that there
 ' were very few persons of quality who had
 ' not suffered or been perplexed by the weight
 ' and fear of those judgments and censures;
 ' and that no man could hope to be longer
 ' free from the inquisition of that court, than
 ' he resolved to submit to extraordinary
 ' courses.'

† *Clarendon's Hist.*, p. 223.

A tyranny made familiar by long use, is much easier to be borne than a new one : and therefore the *English*, the freest people in the world, must be in a terrible consternation and confusion, when they found themselves all of a sudden overwhelmed with a vast inundation of oppression of all kinds ; and that the law, instead of redressing these grievances, was perverted by mercenary judges, to entail slavery on themselves and their posterity : And that the parliament, which was their last refuge, when it met, which was very seldom, was constantly insulted, and the members upon its unseasonable dissolution were fined and imprisoned during the king's pleasure : And that martial law was practised in time of peace, and projects on foot for bringing in foreign force, and the church in a worse condition than the state, by the clergy's carrying their ecclesiastical tyranny higher than ever it was in these kingdoms in the times of popery (to which they were daily making advances) by these two courts of inquisition, the high-commission, and the star-chamber, which inflicted such terrible punishments, as that death itself, compared with them, ought to be esteemed a favour. And a man must be strangely in love with life, who would not prefer dying before the sufferings which high church inflicted on the reverend

Dr.

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Dr. Oates, or even **Mr. Johnson**, tho' they escaped several of the cruelties that the star-chamber used to inflict on clergymen; such as nailing of ears to the pillory, cutting them off, flitting of noses, branding them in the face with hot irons. And I can't but think **Mr. Tutchin** was very much in the right, who rather than endure the whippings, to which *Jefferies*, in the bloody assizes of the *W. B.*, condemned him, upon no other pretence than not owning his right name, petitioned king *Jam's* in the following manner: ' That he humbly conceives
' that the sentence past on him by *Jefferies* is
' worse than death, and therefore humbly
' prays your majesty will be mercifully pleased
' to grant him the favour of being hanged
' with those of his fellow-prisoners that are
' condemned to die; and till then your petitioner, &c *.

But it not being the business of this paper to consider the cruelties of those reigns, where the king's bench supplied the want of the star-chamber, by imposing immoderate fines, and inflicting excessive corporal punishments; I shall resume the thread of my discourse, relating to the cruelties of the high commission and the star-chamber, where if there happened

* *Western Martyrology*, p. 225.

to be any difference as to the degree of punishment, the ecclesiasticks usually voted with those who were for the severest. Nay, I shall give an instance where *Land* had not authority enough to get one man to join with him in the punishing of a man, and that was in the case of *Gillibrand* an almanack-maker, who was by his order put into the high commission court, for leaving out of his calendar the names of the popish saints, and putting in those of the protestant martyrs *. And tho' at the hearing of the cause it appeared it was the same with *Fox's* authorised calendar, and that almanacks of that kind had been formerly printed; for which reason *Gillibrand* was acquitted by archbishop *Abbot*, and all the rest of the court; yet *Land* would by no means consent, and cried, *The queen herself had complained to him of this almanack, which gave great offence to those of her religion, and therefore he hoped it should not pass unpunished in that court.* And when he saw he could not prevail, he told the almanack-maker with a great deal of fury, *You have made a faction in this court, for which you ought to be punished;* and then threatened him with a second prosecution, which put the poor man into a fever, of which he died. This was more

* *Land's* trial by *Prynne*, p. 183, 184, 503, 506.

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scandalous than preferring Dr. *Pocklington*, who had so scandalously libelled the protestant martyrs; for which, as has been already observed, he was censured in parliament.

Laud, whether it was to promote his interest at court, or for any other motive, appeared so great a favourer of popery and popish books, that even while he was bishop of *London* he was petitioned against by the printers and booksellers, for restraining books written against popery; and they complained that divers of them were in the hands of pursivants for printing against popery; and that the books against it were not allowed by him or his chaplains, who had then the sole licensing of books *.

In a word, *Laud's* chief design was to advance the ecclesiastical power above the law of the land (one of the articles on which he was impeached) And therefore while he was aiming at a papal power himself, affecting to be called *His Holiness*, and *Most Holy Father*, and *Summus Pontifex* †, titles which custom has appropriated to the pope; and several as flattering titles, as *Archangelus*, &c. *ne quid nimis*.

* *Rushw.* in fol. vol. i. p. 655.

† *Heylin's Life of Laud*; p. 297.

Spiritu Sancto effusissime plenus †: 'tis no wonder he were no friend to the pope's supremacy or infallibility. But for the other popish doctrines which served to set up an *English* popery, we need go no farther than his life written by his own chaplain *Heylin*, to see how ready he was to favour all who promoted them, and how severely he treated all who opposed them; the books of the rankest papists being either licensed by his chaplains, or approved by himself; and not only new books against popery were hindered from being published, or called in, and passages against popery deleted in others (of which you have a large account in *Prynne's* history of his trial), but the best protestant ones, as were formerly licensed by authority, were not permitted to be reprinted: such as *Fox's Acts and Monuments* (of which every church is obliged to have one) Dr. *Willet*, and the famous bishop *Jewel's* works; nay even the *Practice of Piety*, which had been printed six and thirty times, could not now obtain a new licence. And had not his creature bishop *Wren*, the same design, when he put this into the articles of his visitation, *That the churchwardens in every parish of his diocese should inquire whether any persons presumed to talk of*

† History of his troubles, p. 284, 325.

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religion at their tables, and in their families?
 Since such a gross ignorance as this must cause,
 would as much help to bring in popery, as the
 restraint of protestant books.

The best argument *Heylin* has to prove
Laud was no papist, was his marrying the earl
 of *Devonshire* to my lord *Rich's* wife, while he
 was alive, and not divorced a *vinculo matri-*
monii * ; which he says *may serve for a sufficient*
argument that he was no papist, nor cordially af-
fected to that religion. But whether he was fo-
 or no, I refer the reader to what this chaplain
 of his says concerning the project of the union
 with the papists ; which he does not deny his
 Grace was concerned in †.

But because he is magnified by high-church
 for his great service to king and church, I
 shall shew from my lord *Clarendon*, that he
 was the chief cause of the ruin of both. For
 he owns, ‘ That when he was made archbishop
 ‘ (which was in 1633.) it was a time of great
 ‘ ease and tranquillity : The king had made
 ‘ himself superior to all those difficulties he
 ‘ had to contend with, and was now reve-
 ‘ renced by all his neighbours ; the general
 ‘ temper and humour of the kingdom little

* *Heylin's life of Laud*, p. 53. † *Ibid.* p. 238.

‘ inclined

‘Inclined to the papist, and less to the puritan
 ‘—The church was not repined at, nor the least
 ‘inclination shewn to alter the government or
 ‘discipline thereof, or to change the doctrine;
 ‘nor was there at that time any considerable
 ‘number of persons of any valuable condition
 ‘throughout the kingdom who did wish
 ‘either: and the cause of so prodigious a
 ‘change in so few years after, was too visible
 ‘from the effects; the archbishop’s heart was
 ‘set upon the advancement of the church,
 ‘&c. &c.’ Then he goes on to declare what
 methods he took to bring about so prodigious
 a change, and says, ‘He provoked men of all
 ‘qualities and conditions, who agreed in no-
 ‘thing else but their aversion to him *.’ And
 how could it be otherwise, since he concerned
 himself in every thing; and, as *Clarendon* ob-
 serves, ‘never abated in any thing of his seve-
 ‘rity and rigour towards men of all condi-
 ‘tions, or in the sharpness of his language and
 ‘expressions: which was so natural to him,
 ‘that he could not debate any thing without
 ‘some commotion, nor bear contradiction,
 ‘even in the council, where all men are equal-
 ‘ly free, with that patience and temper that
 ‘was necessary, of which they who wished him

† *Clarendon’s Hist.* vol. 1. p. 61, 71.

* *Ibid.* p. 79.

'not well took many advantages : particularly
 'my lord *Cottington*, who knew too well how
 'to lead him into a mistake, and then drive him
 'into choler, and then expose him upon the
 'matter and the manner, to the judgment of
 'the company *. He entertained, says this
 'noble lord, too much prejudice to some per-
 'sons, as if they were enemies to the discipline
 'of the church, because they concurred with
 'Calvin in some doctrinal points (*as the body of*
 '*the clergy then did*) when they abhorred his
 'discipline, and revered the government of
 'the church, and prayed for its peace with as
 'much zeal and fervency as any in the king-
 'dom ; as they made manifest in their lives,
 'and in their sufferings with it and for it †.
 And another historian, who is not backward
 on all occasions to commend *Laud*, owns,
 'That the proceedings in the spiritual courts,
 'not only against open separatists and profess'd
 'puritans, but even against many true mem-
 'bers of the church, that did not come up to
 'new measures ; were so strict and severe, that
 'it gave occasion to strike at the jurisdiction of
 'those courts ‡.' And when so many of the
 true members of the church were used so
 severely, the dissenters could not expect better

* *Clarendon's Hist.* vol. 1. p. 77. † *Ibid.* p. 70.

‡ *Hist. of England*, vol. 3. p. 85.

treatment : who were not permitted to seek their repose abroad, nor suffered to enjoy any quiet at home ; but were treated with the utmost rigour that malice armed with arbitrary power could contrive.

As no expressions could more fully shew the imperious insolent temper of this proud prelate, than not to be able to bear a jest from the king's fool, whose business it was to make jests on his master, as well as the rest of the court ; and therefore *Laud* obtained an order from the council, the king being present, to get the fool's coat pulled over his ears, to be discharged the king's service, and to be banished the court (and 'tis well he escaped being fined in the star-chamber) for asking him upon the news of the disturbance in *Scotland* about the liturgy, *What's the fowl now ?* So nothing could shew more the weakness of his mind, than that dreams, as 'tis plain from his diary, were capable of making such an impression on him*.

Had not that house of commons which sat three years before his trial, plainly seen that nothing could prevent the utmost confusion, while *Laud* was at the head of affairs ; they

* *Welwood's Memoirs*, p. 58.

would

would not the very first month of their sitting, when there was not the least misunderstanding between the king and them, have declared him *nemine contradicente* a traitor †.

And none who is the least acquainted with the history of those times, but must be convinced that if *Laud* had not prevailed on the king to impose on the *Scots*, by his own authority, canons and liturgies of his framing; the king would never, by reason of the circumstances of the times, have thought himself obliged to pass an act for the abolishing of episcopacy in *Scotland*: In which act 'tis declared, *That the government of the church by bishops was against the word of God, and the propagation of religion* *. Nor would he, in pursuance of that act, have given away the bishops lands to those who were the greatest enemies to episcopacy; nor in all likelihood, afterward have consented to, and signed a contract with the *Scots* ‡, in which he obliged himself to confirm by act of parliament in both kingdoms the solemn League and Covenant, and by act of parliament in *England* presbyterian government, the directory for worship, and assembly of divines at

† *Wellwood's Memoirs*, p. 58.

* *Clarendon*, v. 1. p. 244, 245.

‡ *Ibid.* vol. 3. p. 72, 79.

Westminster for three years: And that upon a consultation with the assembly of divines, to which twenty should be added by the king, with some from the church of *Scotland*, it should be determined by the king and parliament what form of church-government should be established after the expiration of those years. Which was in effect as compleat an establishment of presbytery as could be; because no legal establishment can be conceived in such absolute and unalterable terms, but must be subject to be changed after the same manner as this establishment was: to which no end could be put, but by the consent of every part of the legislature to an alteration. And yet the clergy have the assurance to maintain, that this gracious king died a martyr to episcopacy: though in truth he granted these terms to the *Scots*, to encourage them to invade *England*, and to create a new civil war, while he refused them to the *English*; when by concessions far less dishonourable than he granted to the *Scots*, he might have secured himself, and the peace of the kingdom.

I thought myself obliged to mention these few, among the many instances that might be produced of the insupportable insolence and cruelties of a prelate, who scarce appears to have one good quality to atone for all the ill ones he

was in so high a degree possessed of ; who took all the methods imaginable to alienate the most unconquerable affections, of the people from the king and church ; and acted after such a manner, as if he despaired of bringing about his wicked designs, till he had put all things in confusion. This must appear evident to any one, who takes mens characters from their actions, and not from the panegyrics which flattering historians give of them. These things, I say, I thought myself bound to observe concerning him, not on his own account, since he has long ago suffered what he deserved ; but for the sake of high church, who esteem him the very pattern in the mount, and condemn the best churchmen as *perfidious Grindals*, loading them with all manner of obloquy, that will not tread in his steps : which plainly shews what they would be at, if ever the nation be so infatuated as to trust them with power.

My lord *Clarendon*, in exposing the weakness of the *Scots*, says, * *The infectious breath of their senseless and wretched clergy corrupted and governed the people.* And will it not be as great a reflection on the *English*, to be corrupted by as senseless and wretched a clergy,

* Vol. 3. p. 83.

as ever those of *Scotland* can be supposed to be? Those I mean, who propose *Laud* and his party as the standard and model by which they would govern themselves; and would have all that won't come into their measures be treated as enemies to the church. For which reason, it will not be improper to repeat the character my lord *Falkland* gives of these standards and patterns of high-church; and I chuse him, because his zeal for the church is as well known as his ability to defend it; and because he died a martyr in fighting for the royal cause, when his post of secretary of state to *Charles I.* exempted him from any military engagement; and because my lord *Clarendon*, who spends above three pages in one place in his commendation, gives him the highest character that can be bestowed on a mortal: among other things he says, * 'He was so severe an adorer of truth, ' that he could as easily give himself leave to ' steal as to dissemble: that he was a person ' of such prodigious parts, learning and know- ' ledge, of that inimitable sweetness and de- ' light in conversation, and of so flowing and ' obliging humanity and goodness, and of ' that primitive simplicity and integrity of

* Vol. 1. p. 268.

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‘ life, that if there were no other brand on
 ‘ that odious and accursed civil war than that
 ‘ single loss, it must be most infamous and
 ‘ execrable to all posterity*.’ And therefore
 what so impartial, so candid, and so able a
 judge says of things, which happened within
 his own knowledge, cannot fail of gaining
 credit even with the most prejudiced. *Vid.*
Rushw. fol. vol. 4. p. 184.

The Lord Falkland's speech concerning Episcopacy.

‘ MR. SPEAKER,

‘ **H**E is a great stranger in *Israel* who knows
 ‘ not that this kingdom hath long la-
 ‘ boured under many and great oppressions,
 ‘ both in religion and liberty; and his ac-
 ‘ quaintance here is not great, or his inge-
 ‘ nuity less, who doth not both know and
 ‘ acknowledge that a great, if not a principal
 ‘ cause of both these have been some bishops
 ‘ and their adherents.

‘ Mr. Speaker, A little search will serve to
 ‘ find them to have been the destruction of
 ‘ unity, under pretence of uniformity; to

• Vol. 2. p. 76.

‘ have

• have brought in superstition and scandal,
• under the titles of reverence and decency;
• to have defiled our church, by adorning
• our churches; to have slackened the strict-
• nels of that union which was formerly be-
• tween us and those of our religion beyond
• the sea; an action as unpolitic as ungodly.

• *Mr. Speaker,* We shall find them to have
• tithed mint and anise, and have left undone
• the weightier works of the law; to have
• been less eager upon those who damn our
• church, than upon those who, upon weak
• conscience, and perhaps as weak reasons
• (the dislike of some commanded garment,
• or some uncommanded posture) only ab-
• stained from it. Nay, it hath been more
• dangerous for men to go to some neighbour's
• parish, when they had no sermon in their
• own, than to be obstinate and perpetual
• recusants; while masses have been said in
• security, a conventicle hath been a crime,
• and which is yet more, the conforming to
• ceremonies hath been more exacted than the
• conforming to christianity; and whilst men
• for scruples have been undone, for attempts
• upon sodomy they have only been ad-
• monished.

• We shall find them to have been like the
• hen in *Æsop*, which laying every day an egg

' upon such a proportion of barley, her mis-
 ' sions increasing her proportion in hope she
 ' would increase her eggs, she grew so fat upon
 ' that addition, that she never laid more: so
 ' though at first their preaching were the oc-
 ' casion of their preferment, they after made
 ' their preferment the occasion of their not
 ' preaching.

' We shall find them to have resembled
 ' another fable, the dog in the manger; to
 ' have neither preached themselves, nor em-
 ' ployed those that should, nor suffered those
 ' that would: to have brought in catechising,
 ' only to thrust out preaching, cried down
 ' lectures by the name of factions, either
 ' because their industry in that duty appeared
 ' a reproof to their neglect of it, or with in-
 ' tention to have brought in darkness, that
 ' they might the easier sow their tares, while
 ' it was night; and by that introduction of
 ' ignorance, introduce the better that religion
 ' which accounts it the mother of devotion.

' Mr. Sprat, In this they have abused his
 ' Majesty, as well as his people: for when
 ' they had with great wisdom (since usually
 ' the children of darkness are wiser in their
 ' generation than the children of light) silenced
 ' on both parts those opinions which have
 ' often

* often tormented the church, and have, and
 * will always trouble the schools, they made
 * use of this declaration to tie up one side, and
 * let the other loose; whereas they ought either
 * in discretion to be equally restrained, or in
 * justice to have been equally tolerated. And
 * it is observable, that that party to which they
 * gave this licence, was that whose doctrine,
 * though they were not contrary to law, was
 * contrary to custom, and for a long while in
 * this kingdom was no oftener preached than
 * recanted.

* The truth is, Mr. Spraker, that as some
 * ill ministers in our state first took away our
 * money from us, and after endeavoured to
 * make our money not worth the taking, by
 * turning it into brags by a kind of antiphilo-
 * sopher's stone; so these men used us in the
 * point of preaching, first depressing it to
 * their power, and next labouring to make it
 * such, as the harm had not been much if it
 * had been depressed: the most frequent sub-
 * jects, even in the most sacred auditories,
 * being the *jus divinum* of bishops and tithes,
 * the sacredness of the clergy, the sacrilege of
 * impropriations, the demolishing of purita-
 * nism and propriety, the building of the
 * prerogative at *Paul's*, the introduction of

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* such doctrines, as, admitting them true,
 * the truth would not recompence the scan-
 * dal; or of such that were so far false, that,
 * as Sir *Thomas Moore* says of the casuists,
 * their business was not to keep men from
 * sinning, but to inform them, *Quam prope*
 * *ad peccatum sine peccato liceat accedere*: so it
 * seemed their work was to try how much of
 * a papist might be brought in without po-
 * pery, and to destroy as much as they could
 * of the gospel, without bringing themselves
 * into danger of being destroyed by the law.

* To go yet further, some of them have so
 * industriously laboured to deduce themselves
 * from *Rome*, that they have given great
 * suspicion that in gratitude they desire to
 * return thither, or at least to meet it half
 * way. Some have evidently laboured to
 * bring in an *English*, though not a *Roman*
 * popery: I mean not only the outside and
 * dress of it, but equally absolute, a blind
 * dependance of the people upon the clergy,
 * and of the clergy upon themselves; and
 * have opposed the papacy beyond the sea,
 * that they might settle one beyond the water.
 * Nay, common fame is more than ordinarily
 * false, if none of them have found a way
 * to reconcile the opinions of *Rome* to the
 * preferments

‘ preferments of *England*; and be so abso-
 ‘ lutely, directly and cordially papists, that
 ‘ it is all that fifteen hundred pounds a year
 ‘ can do to keep them from confessing it.

‘ *Mr. Speaker*, I come now to speak of our
 ‘ liberties; and considering the great interest
 ‘ these men have had in our common master,
 ‘ and how great a good to us they might have
 ‘ made that interest in him, if they would
 ‘ have used it to have informed him of our
 ‘ general sufferings; and considering how little
 ‘ of their freedom of speech at *Whitehall* might
 ‘ have saved us a great deal of the use we
 ‘ have now of it in the parliament house,
 ‘ their not doing this alone were occasion
 ‘ enough for us to accuse them as the be-
 ‘ trayers, though not as the destroyers of
 ‘ our rights and liberties: though, I confess,
 ‘ if they had been only silent in this parti-
 ‘ cular, I had been silent too. But, alas,
 ‘ they whose ancestors in the darkest times
 ‘ excommunicated the breakers of *Magna*
 ‘ *Charta*, did now by themselves, and their
 ‘ adherents, both write, preach, plot, and
 ‘ act against it, by encouraging *Dr. Bial*, by
 ‘ preferring *Dr. Manwaring*, appearing for-
 ‘ ward for monopolies and ship-money; and
 ‘ if any were slow and backward to comply,
 O 5 ‘ blasting

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• blasting both them and their preferment
• with the utmost expression of their hatred,
• the title of Puritans.

• *Mr. Speaker,* We shall find some of them
• to have laboured to exclude both all per-
• sons, and all causes of the clergy, from the
• ordinary jurisdiction of the temporal magi-
• strate, and by hindering prohibitions (first
• by apparent power against the judges, and
• after by secret agreements with them) to
• have taken away the only legal bound to
• their arbitrary power, and made as it were
• a conquest upon the common law of the
• land, which is our common inheritance;
• and after made use of that power to turn
• their brethren out of their freeholds, for
• not doing that which no law of man required
• them to do; and which (in their opinions)
• the law of God required them not to do.
• We shall find them in general to have en-
• couraged all the clergy to suits, and to have
• brought all suits to the council-table; that
• having all power in ecclesiastical matters,
• they laboured for equal power in temporal,
• and to dispose as well of every office, as
• every benefice: which lost the clergy much
• revenue, and much reverence, by encou-
• raging them indiscreetly to exact more of
• both than was due; so that indeed the gain
• of

‘ of their greatness extended but to a few of
 ‘ that order, though the envy extended upon
 ‘ all.

‘ We shall find them to have both kindled
 ‘ and blown the common fire of both nations,
 ‘ to have both sent and maintained that book,
 ‘ of which the author no doubt hath long
 ‘ since wished with *Nero, Utinam nescissem*
 ‘ *litteras!* and of which more than one king-
 ‘ dom hath cause to wish, that when he writ
 ‘ that, he had rather burned a library, thb’
 ‘ of the value of *Ptolomy’s*. We shall find
 ‘ them to have been the first and principal
 ‘ cause of the breach, I will not say of, but
 ‘ since the pacification at *Berwick*. We shall
 ‘ find them to have been the almost sole
 ‘ abettors of my lord *Strafford*, whilst he
 ‘ was practising upon another kingdom that
 ‘ manner of government which he intended to
 ‘ settle in this; where he committed so many,
 ‘ so mighty, and so manifest enormities and
 ‘ oppressions, as the like have not been com-
 ‘ mitted by any governor in any government,
 ‘ since *Verres* left *Sicily*: and after they had
 ‘ called him over from being deputy of *Ire-*
 ‘ *land*, to be in a manner deputy of *England*
 ‘ (all things here being governed by a *juntillo*,
 ‘ and that *juntill* governed by him) to have
 ‘ assisted him in the giving of such counsels,

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‘ and the pursuing of such courses, as it is a
 ‘ hard and measuring cast, whether they were
 ‘ more unwise, more unjust, or more unfor-
 ‘ tunate, and which had infallibly been our
 ‘ destruction, if by the grace of God, their
 ‘ share had not been as small in the sub-
 ‘ tilty of serpents, as in the innocency of
 ‘ doves.’

As every one that is conversant in story must allow this to be a favourable description of the then high-church clergy; so he must own, that the high-church laity were then for the most part not only grossly ignorant in religious matters, but withal very much addicted to drunkenness, and all manner of debauchery, and remarkable for their great contempt of all that's sacred or serious, and abominably guilty of all manner of lewd buffoonery, and of swearing, profaning and blaspheming the holy name of God; and in a word, were a very fit people for such priests.

'Tis no wonder this description the above-mention'd lord gives of high-church in *Charles the First's* reign, is so lively a picture of them at present, seeing they have ever since made it their business to copy after that original; and

and therefore in the following reigns, when the court seemed to have no other aim but popery and slavery, they came plumb into all its measures and went hand in hand with the court till an indulgence was allowed to the dissenters. And they have sufficiently shewn the world, that no government, tho' it parts with the *first-fruits* and *tithes*, or any other branch of its revenue to the church, is to expect them to be in its interest, if they are not allowed the power of persecuting protestant dissenters. Persecution with them, is like charity with true christians; without which, do what else you will for them, you are but as *sounding brass and tinkling cymbals*.

But tho' high church proposes the reign of Charles I. when *Laud* and his faction governed every thing, as a precedent for all future reigns, I suppose it is with this tacit exception to the treatment of clergymen of their side, if they chance to be tried for any misdemeanour; except we can suppose they are willing to have Dr. *Sacheverell's* ears cropt, his nose slit, his face stigmatized, to have an excessive fine put on him, and to be condemned to perpetual imprisonment, as clergymen and others then were, who were not guilty of the thousandth part of the crimes

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crimes this reverend divine stands accused of. And so far I agree with them, that I would not have any of their proceedings, which at all times favoured of violence and injustice, proposed as a pattern in a reign so famous for its gentleness and moderation: nor would I have the whigs prevailed on by any practice of the tories, or by any thoughts of retaliation or provocation, or any pretence whatever, to exceed the due bounds of impartial justice; but only to take such care as may prevent both church and state from falling under such deplorable circumstances, as they were in when high-church rid triumphant.

A
DISCOURSE
ON
GOVERNMENT
AND
RELIGION,

Calculated for the MERIDIAN of the
THIRTIETH OF JANUARY.

By an INDEPENDENT.

*Ye know nothing at all, neither consider that it
is expedient for us, that one man should die
for the people, and that the whole nation
perish not.*

CAIAPHAS.

SALUS POPULI SUPREMA LEX ESTO.

The Author unknown,

4-6





T H E
P R E F A C E.

TH^{O'} this is the place of a preface, what I have to say, more than the contents that follow, being not the subject of the day in the title-page, but of the present times, I think it may not improperly be called, *a Postscript by way of Preface.*

There is now much talk about altering the *Common Prayer* ; no one doubts of the need of doing it, but pur-blind bigots ; but how to alter it to please every one, is an unfurmountable difficulty. I own I have read none of the arguments published on this subject : however I will give my opinion, that if it be at all altered, it ought to be in such a manner, as will best please *all conscientious and reasonable men*, and that in my judgment will be, not to alter the book, but the use of it ; not to abolish a syllable or ceremony of it, but let it remain just as it is. Let every parish priest either use the whole, or leave out what part
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he pleases, or let it all alone, not allowing him to introduce any *new* ceremonies, for that would be a leading towards popery; but leave out as many of the old ones as he thinks proper; that he who is to pray for others, may pray in what manner he judges best, either by that form, or by any other of his own composing, or by none. So the priest enjoying liberty of conscience himself, will feel the sweetness of it, and be willing that others should enjoy the same felicity. How can any one pray, or teach, according to the best of his judgment, in the sincerity of his conscience; that is denied the liberty of doing it? Upon the rock of private judgment and liberty of conscience, stands the reformation. That no ceremonies should be imposed on men in religious matters, nor doctrines, but such as agree with their reason and the Bible, is the foundation of protestancy; and if this was freely permitted, all bigotry in religion, which is the scandal of it, would be done away. Men will not then persecute one another in words, or deeds, about things indifferent, nor esteem them essential. All good and wise men both clergy and laity will be pleased, and none displeased but superstitious, arbitrary and unreasonable tempers. And such good consequence is as much as can

can.

can be expected or desired, when any alteration is made, on any account, in any time or place in the world. An unalterable conformity to any one system, is presumption to expect, and tyranny to impose, unless the men appointing it were infallible. But infallibility is God's peculiar property, according to protestant doctrine; and is doubtless an infallible truth: therefore to leave men free in religion, is true protestant practice. To give this liberty in public devotion, is to make but *one* alteration; but to alter the book, will be to make an alteration, which, however made, will want altering again and again without end. But by this method, all the people as well as all their guides will please themselves, for then if too many or too few, too much or too little ceremonies, be used at one church to please any person, those that dislike may go to another, where the worship is more agreeable to them. All the conformity that God requires, is to the dictates of a pure conscience; and all the religious conformity necessary for social life and happiness, is, *that supplications, prayers, and giving of thanks be made for all men, for kings, and all that are in authority; the manner how should be left to the discretion of him that does it, so that we may lead quiet and peaceable lives, in all*

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all godliness and honesty; and that men should be advised and counselled how to act as the reason and nature of their circumstances require, with all moral and commendable conduct.

A
DISCOURSE
ON
GOVERNMENT, &c.

AFTER a hundred years contention and animosity about the good or evil of *one* action, it is time that mens passions should subside, and that they growing calm and sedate, without enthusiasm and bigotry, should reflect and reason on the subject; and 'tis fit that those who have the favour of good sense should exercise it.—Those who are not able to form a rational judgment of things, are liable to every deception; they cannot possibly tell when they are deceived, and for want of judgment can never be convinced: therefore such must go their own way, till suffering opens their understandings; then they wish, too late, they had reflected in time. As when men feel the effects of slavery,

slavery, they wish for freedom, who never valued it, when they enjoyed it; nor endeavoured to preserve it, when they were in imminent danger of losing it. But were it not for the *careless* and the *coward*, mankind could never be enslaved.—As for my own part, I am determined to write for *liberty*, while I have liberty to write, seeing in these happy days of freedom, we now enjoy that natural and reasonable liberty, which is the natural and reasonable right of mankind, and reason therefore may speak without fear: but when *tyrants* reign, reason for liberty is suppressed, because it is feared.—I am of no levelling spirit: I think sovereigns are made to rule, and subjects to obey, the laws governing both; the laws I mean made by the governing powers, that are according to equity, and moral justice.—Such a government ought not to be abused, nor to suffer abuse from malecontents, that enjoy equal liberties with their fellow subjects; whose murmuring is only to make men despise the heavenly *manna* they at present relish, to bring them back to the antient slavery of *Egypt*, to lordly and priestly tyranny, which free-born souls abhor; or to the stinking *garlick* of popery, which is loathed by men of taste.—Some men are of such servile and stupid dispositions,

positions, that they think whatever is the will of the sovereign, is law. If he was God himself, a Being not capricious, but necessarily so perfect, that it is absolutely impossible for him to be the author of an *evil law*, it would be so, and right in being so. If his laws like God's were perfectly just, because his will is absolutely good, not because he is absolutely powerful; for power and goodness are distinct and different things; therefore the one may be where the other is not; and very seldom meet together in man. They can only be cemented by wisdom and justice. This cannot be where weak-headed men are possessed of power; for where ambitious and self-conceited men bear rule (which is the natural consequence of strong passions and weak intellects) the event naturally is, that destruction attends not only all those their arm of vengeance is capable of reaching; but also, that they over-reach themselves to their own fatal downfall and justly merited ruin.— If to enslave a nation is an *inglorious* and *dishonourable* thing to the doer; to redeem a nation from slavery is a *glorious* and an *honourable* action. If men have a natural right to the enjoyment of civil and religious liberties, they have a natural right to assert and maintain these liberties, and to defend them by
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what means they can. When necessity calls for it, it is not any unnatural rebellion, but a natural and noble stand for liberty: but to rebel without this cause, *as has been lately done*, is to attempt the destruction of our most valuable liberties, and to set up tyranny and slavery in its room; which if attempted by a king, renders him the most detestable of all kings; and if by a people, proves them the most base and ungrateful of all people. A king is then a tyrant, when he will not be governed by the laws of the country he ought to be governed by; but as long as he governs himself by them, those laws are his protection. On the contrary, he that makes his arbitrary and despotic will, the law of the nation, is a tyrant; and as he does and would reign without the law of reason and justice, he is, or ought, in reason and justice to be outlawed. And every priest that preaches up the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance to such a prince, is a traitor to the liberties of the people. When the people's liberties are intended to be taken away, then, and only then, such doctrine is necessary to be preached to the stupid and unthinking herd; that while they are lulled asleep in spiritual stupefaction, their properties may be invaded without obstruction; and their natural rights stolen from them

them without impediment. The king and the priest, so joining to play their part, are like two robbers, that, at their attacking a man upon the highway, one of them throws dust in his eyes, while the other robs him of what he has. What's the reason that priests don't preach this high-flown doctrine now? It is, *first*, because the prince intends no invasion on the liberties of his subjects, and *secondly*, because they have got a king they can't make an ecclesiastical noodle of. When fools reign, they have always knaves at their elbow. When a king is desirous to enslave the people, there are always some *black* counsellors at hand, that seek their own advancement in the common ruin. If he take it into his head to side with the church and clergy in doing it, they will sanctify all his actions, assert his birthright from above, cast a ray of glory around him, and make him appear a saint, or one of the minor sons of God.

Notwithstanding the wicked, stupid, and damning doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance, men have a right to stand up in their own defence, when their lives and liberties are invaded; for *self-defence* is the greatest law in nature, it is interwoven in the constitution of every creature, and such unnatural doctrines cannot extirpate it.

Let not kings be deceived by false notions; when by wicked actions, they have lost the love of the people in general, they can have no safety from the people; but are in the case of poor debtors, that dare not trust themselves abroad for fear of a bailiff. But a few malecontents, and a faction against the court, will always be, *1st*. By some, because they are out of place. *2^{dly}*. By others, because they suffer themselves easily to be deceived, and are generally dissatisfied. And *3^{dly}*, Those that are jealous of their liberties will always fear the worst, and therefore grumble at whatever does not seem to them to have a favourable aspect, or appears to have an ill tendency; these I may call *court spies*; but it is a sign of liberty in the state, when the people are permitted to be watchful of it, and even allowed a jealous murmur or complaint.

The action of this day, being done contrary to the *interest*, and therefore contrary to the *dispositions* of the priests, it was policy in them to blacken it, and make it a sin, which now they have prayed above these hundred years to be forgiven. And if it is not forgiven by this time, they either pray to a strange God, or, they are a strange sort of prayers, that work no manner of effect upon him :

him:—He either hears them not, or don't think them worthy his regard, and so they may pray on till doomsday.—When God, the king, and the people are to be mocked, there is no better way of doing it, than by practising it with the face of religion. The cavaliers pray for the forgiveness of a sin they never committed; and so they have mocked God, ever since they have begun to practise repentance on this score—Those that are most guilty of hypocrisy, cry out most against others for being hypocrites. What is it but hypocrisy, for men to pretend to repent of what no man in the age they live in is guilty of; or to attempt by four penitence to atone for an action of the generation now dead, and which those that committed, were not conscious of its being a crime in the nature and reason of the thing?—But however it be, if they have committed a crying sin before God, and have not answered for it by this time before God, there is no truth in our religion—Why then should we, a degenerate race, condemn; and whining, pretend to repent of the action they did, and thought themselves right in doing? If we are to answer for it, where is the justice of God? If we believe we shall be answerable for their faults, where's the rationality of our belief? But I

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expect to be told that the *Lord visits the iniquities of the fathers upon their children to the third and fourth generation*. What upon those children who had no hand in the action of their fathers, and who cannot be guilty of it! To assert this is as ridiculous, as impious. This is just as right, as it would be to lash a boy at school, that never played truant in his life, because his father or grandfather played the truant, and was not whipt for it. *Ezekiel* (chap. xviii.) tells us, that God said *then*, and I suppose he has not changed his mind since; *the soul that sinneth shall die, the son shall not bear the iniquity of the father, &c.* This chapter is a good explanation of the threatening annexed to the second commandment.—The truth is, there are *families*, as well as *nations*, that tread in their predecessors steps, and the *son* goes on in the same wicked path the *father* did (as *James II.* followed *Charles I.*) till their iniquities are full; that is, till they can be borne with no longer; and then *justice* fully incensed, whets her vengeful sword, and cuts them off. Seldom does it happen, that tyrannical kings treading in the steps of their wicked ancestors, prosper to the *fourth* generation; but according as their iniquity is, as to time and measure, they are cut down in the *second*, or *third* succession.

cession. So the sins of *James I* which his son *Charles* walked in, helped forward his fall.—It is the mercy of God to mankind, that tyranny and oppression shall naturally stir up the vengeance of an incensed people, to bind the heathen kings with chains, and their nobles with fetters of iron. Such honour have all his saints, praise ye the Lord, says the * psalmist. This is an honour due to none but saints, that is, to a people worthy of redemption. And kings that persecute christians are heathens to them.

It is the duty of subjects to defend and obey a good prince, and oppose a bad one; for all opposition to evil is good. The people, that obey a wicked prince, will be wicked; for a tame submission to his vices, will corrupt their morals. And his religious vices, most of all; because they are not seen as vices, being gilded over with religion. By this means slavery and iniquity may be planted, and take deep root in a nation.

Right government is, when the governor and governed mutually agree, and are mutually benefited: when they harmonize, they make each other happy. The chief end of govern-

* Psalm cxlix. 8.

ment is the safety and tranquillity of the people, in which the prince finds his account: their duty is to serve and protect each other. —Subjects disobeying a lawful prince, are justly punished; and he is a lawful prince, whom the power and will of the people appoint, and who rules according to law. —He that redeems a people from slavery, or from those arbitrary measures that present them with an approaching prospect of it, has a right to rule over them; and as he is their *rightful*, so he is their *lawful prince* if he don't enslave them. —Kings are the servants of the public, and if they deserve well of the public, they ought to be well rewarded by the public. But servants that do not their duty, ought to be discarded their service. He that destroys the public peace, whose duty it is to preserve it, deserves public punishment, whatever his office or station be in the public service. As it is hard to punish governors, without injury to the governed, if they can get rid of them at any rate, they must be contented; for formal justice cannot be executed on those that are above the reach of justice. Justice cannot always be executed where it ought, but ought always where it can, without regard to persons. —He that reigns according to the laws of the country, is not to be esteemed a bad

Bad prince; but if bad laws are complained of, and he can rectify them, but does not, he is not a good prince; for every one that is made sensible of his duty, ought to do it, if it be in his power. A prince may be so far misled, as to agree to the making laws that may be productive of grievances to a nation; because he may not apprehend they will turn out such; but when he finds they do, by the complaints of the people, if he don't endeavour to redress them, he is a bad governor.— Necessary taxes must be raised to support governments, and when it is done in a legal way, according to the laws of the country, and applied to the necessary emergencies of state, it is a proof of disaffection, in persons that can afford to pay their taxes, to grumble at paying them. And if people at this time pay more taxes than formerly, they are much more able to do it, because of the great increase of trade; though the poor have always enough to do to live, and live honestly; therefore those only that are able to pay taxes, should be taxed; for to demand of any man what is not in his power to do, cannot be the demands of that law which is *bold, just and good*.—But kings that impose taxes on their subjects without law, and take away their rights and properties because they have a

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power to do it; and do it, because it is to their advantage, are but more powerful robbers. And those that distress and destroy their subjects, that they may the better subdue and enslave them, to enhance their own arbitrary power, are tyrants and wicked rulers. *As a roaring lion and a raging bear, so are these over the poor people.*—Is it not just to remove the causes of common calamity by the death of the principal person, which nothing but his death could remove, or the death of the people from their oppressions? Is it better, in such case, *that one man die, or the nation perish?*

The promoters and abettors of slavery endeavour to enforce and sanctify tyranny by one text of St. Paul, *Rom. xiii. 1, 2. Let every soul be subject to the higher powers; for there is no power but of God; and the powers that be, are ordained of God. Whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God; and they that resist, shall receive to themselves damnation.*—These words have been made a shameful handle of by shameless priests, for shameful ends and purposes.—According to the seeming sense of these words, if by *higher powers*, be meant *persons in power*, every one that is invested with power, has his
power

power from God; and every soul must submit to it on the peril of damnation. As there is nothing of *hereditary right* in the text, it does not patronize the slavish principles of passive obedience and non-resistance to one family, or set of men, more than to another. But if every one in power must be passively obeyed, on the peril of damnation, a worse doctrine cannot be taught to enslave the world than this; and favours more of a revelation from the infernal tyrant, than the revelation of the *glorious liberty of the sons of God*. This then is the doctrine not of *Paul*, but of priests: 'tis not *gospel*, but *priestcraft*; for the devil then in power must not be resisted, but obeyed.—I apprehend this doctrine is against *levellers*; against those that would be subject to, or governed by no power; who are for no king in this world, but *king Jesus*; no governor to exercise the authority of rule over them: whereas God has ordained, that there shall be some men having higher power than the rest, to govern the rest; and he that resists this ordinance of God, and order of nature, is a rebel to God and man; and will meet with his justly-merited condemnation; for this is to overturn all order and government among men; without which, all manner of evil may be committed with impunity.—

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The apostle don't say, *all persons in power* are to be obeyed; but the *power*, that is, every order, and office, appointed by the public, for the public good. Every one in a superior office ought to be obeyed in such a manner as is necessary. 'Tis the office, the subjection is due to, for 'tis this that gives the power to the persons possessing it, whoever the person be, not for the sake of his person, but of his office and authority: so far as his office, place, authority, or power requires he should be obeyed, in such manner and degree he ought to be obeyed; and he that does so, submits himself to the *power* rather than to the *person*, or only to the person for the office, power, and authority sake; not because so it *must* be, but because so it *should* be, or it is right so to do; for governing powers are the ordinance of God.—But if he in office does not use the power *right* which he is possessed of, he has no right to possess it; he forfeits his right by the ill use he makes of it: obeying him in such case, is not obeying the ordinance of God, as his minister for good; 'tis obeying man rather than God; what *the man in office*, not what *the office of the man* requires. Thus we should distinguish between the person and the power.—Every man in life has a power given him to
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some end, and if he uses his power to a different end than what he ought to do, he abuses it; and not using it right, it is right to take it from him.—If kings can do no wrong, it is because as soon as they do wrong, they cease of right to be kings. A good office must be executed by a good man. The man should be fitted for the office he is to execute, or he is disqualified for the office, and so cannot serve it; cannot be what he is appointed, because he is not qualified for it. So that a king ruling wickedly, is not a king; therefore the people that kill, or cast off such a man, don't kill, or cast off their king, only one that would have been their king if he had been properly qualified for that high office and sacred dignity; and one that has unkinged himself by discovering his inability to reign. He is not a husband, that takes no care of his wife and family, and she that is a whore, is not a wife.

It is cause of wonder, how it should ever come into the head of any man to imagine, he ought to be obeyed as a God. It is an evident sign of the devil in man, that sets himself up in the place of God. It is making an idol of a prince, to bring the judgments of God upon him. It is a doctrine that nothing

but a priest could invent, or one that intended to raise his king the *higher*, that he might fall the *lower*. A spiritual trap to catch an unwary prince in, to fetter him to his everlasting and irretrievable ruin.

If *Charles* had not been a great enthusiast, it could never have come into his head, that any king on earth could possibly be so much a favourite of God, as that he indulged him to do what he pleased, without being accountable as men ought to be that break the laws of society.—Are not kings men? and no body but priests, madmen, or fools ever supposed or said they were more than men; and if so, then they are under the same laws of God in this world that all mankind are. Their office and power indeed makes it reasonable, that if they reign well, they should be more valued and respected than other men; because they are the authors of more good and benefit to men; but if they reign ill, they are less valued than other men; because they are the cause of much more evil and injury to men than others are.—Or rather why should God *hate* kings more than other men, that he should indulge them in the practice of more wickedness than others, to enslave the world with impunity. The rod of correction is
used

used for the good of children, which a loving father will exercise when necessity calls for it, to reclaim them by reasonable punishment. To suffer a king to be a criminal without fear, is to debauch the office of a king, and debase royal dignity. To suppose God does it, is supposing partiality in God; thus to do, is to debase God, to exalt the king.

Men are made *kings* by the grace of God, —but not *tyrants*, because they have not the grace of God in them. And that *grace of God* which makes kings, comes by means of the *good-will of the people*. Those that hold their power by this right, as *the present royal family do*, have the best, the justest, and the most natural right in the world. Properly speaking, men are made kings by *the grace of the people*, and they behave as worthy of such office, by *the grace of God*. Let those that deny this, shew their commission to be from God, and not from the people; let them plainly prove it so, without the sophistry of priestcraft, that the world may believe it.

What king did ever come from heaven! that any of them should presume to claim a divine right to any kingdom on earth? Or what commission was ever given from *heaven*

to any man, to possess a kingdom on earth? The *divine right* of kings to rule over people, without, and against their consent, is a *profane jest*; though 'tis like many other things that are called divine, which of all things have the least relation to divinity. And yet nations have been so far deluded, and imposed on by their teachers, by the governors and guardians of their liberties, that they have suffered their natural rights, liberties and properties to be given away, by will, at the pleasure of a departing king, like a paternal estate. If a king has a right to dispose of the people at his death, without their consent; why not to sell the kingdom in his life-time without their consent, as a man to sell his estate? or to sell his subjects, as cattle are sold in the market? but if he cannot justly give away the kingdom at his death, nor sell it in his life-time, without consent of the people, then 'tis evident that the power of governing them lies in themselves, and no man has a right to a kingdom, as a man hath to an estate; but that, *the right and power of governing a nation, is in the power of the nation*, till tyranny and oppressions rob them of it, and render them for ever incapable of recovering their *native right*: then farewell all that is dear and valuable to a free people.—When a whole nation

nation become the property of a king or priest, or of both united to make the chain that binds them the stronger, who dare say his soul or body is his own? And as kingly majesty, so the priesthood is constituted by the people. "Whoever is declared to be a priest by any society, is a priest to them; and ceases to be one, the moment they declare him none."—But all pretended right that is maintained by power, force and violence, is no longer right than the foundation can support it. He possesses my property, as a robber does that is stronger than I, and can hold it no longer than he holds his strength; for when I can, it is my right to dispossess him of his unjust gains.—He that would enslave a nation, is himself a slave to some other person, or to his passions, and to restless ambition. He has a *weak head*, and a *wicked heart*; and if superstition and bigotry may pass for religion, he may be a very religious man.

The *Scotch prince* assumed a tyrannical power over the constitution of this realm, and the consciences of men, throughout his whole reign. He endeavoured to encroach on the privileges of parliament, and to set himself *above the laws*. In these *principles and practices*, he was flattered and encouraged by his
sycophant

tycophant ministers, bishops and clergy. With these false notions of power, the son's heart was corrupted, his head was turned and over-turned. Ambitious men told them, their persons and authority were *divine*, to exalt themselves thereby; they swallowed the *profane* bait, and were intoxicated with it; they reeled and staggered with licentious power, like drunken men.

Whatever is *divine*, must be so in the *nature* of the thing; and if so, then such as are *by nature kings*, are kings by divine right: and such his successor seems to have been, who kept by his wisdom what he got by his valour. Nature herself could not forbear discovering her disorder, groaning for the nation, at the loss of so great a man.—But nature seemed never to design the man, whom this day has almost deified, a higher step than that of a *bishop*; nor his father, than that of a *school-master*. Both father and son mistook their abilities, in conceiving themselves kings by any *natural qualification* they had for that office, or by any thing like *divine right* inherent in their persons.—To carry on this juggle since their reigns, and to deceive the populace into the *divinity* of the *Stuart family*, their successors pretended to work miracles, in curing diseases

diseases by a touch, and the bishops and clergy countenanced the fraud, and carried on the imposture. Some fools now have faith enough to believe (and when have not fools a foolish faith) that the seed of the *Stuarts* have this gift, and have been as far as *France* or *Rome* to partake of it. A sufficient demonstration of the *imposition* and *stupidity* of that party. But truth and righteousness are not supported by religious knavery.

Enthusiasm enraged is madness; if the persons seized with it are exasperated, they grow mad. The king was enthusiast enough to believe, that he of all the nation was the *sole favourite* of heaven. The people who had scrutinizing eyes, seeing nothing superlative in him, worthy the delight of heaven or of earth, began to conceive, that if 'he *by the grace of God*, was God's peculiar favourite, they had as much right and title to *that grace* as he. Thus the enthusiasm which the priests had kindled in the king, began to spread among the people; and the wild fire being caught out of the priests hands, it was no longer under their direction. Every one of the Lord's people was as good as a priest or a king. And how indeed could it be otherwise, unless the king and priest had by their better doctrine and conduct taught the people better?

And

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And so all thought themselves to be *kings and priests to God, even the lamb*, even that lamb who is convertible into a *lion*. As the king himself, in *his* way, was baptised with the fire of this enthusiastic spirit, so from him the flame caught the people; his priests sowed the seeds of it in him, and he among all the people. It begun at court, and extended over all his dominions. Such as men sowed, they also reaped in full measure, making good the righteous sentence of scripture, which saith, *With whatsoever measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again.*

I read that, 'The bad policy of king *James* appeared in nothing more than his falling out with his parliaments. This was principally owing to his *extravagant notions of regal power*, which he carried higher than most of his predecessors, and so far as was inconsistent with a limited monarchy, such as is the wise and happy constitution of *England*. This brought many and great inconveniences upon him; and happy had it been, if his only surviving son and successor *Charles I.* had taken warning by the imprudent management of his father; for then he might have avoided the rock on which he unhappily split. But being brought up in the
' same

‘ same *high notions of prerogative*, he trod in
 ‘ the same steps, nay took *larger strides* towards
 ‘ *arbitrary power* than even his father had
 ‘ done. By this means, the people that sided
 ‘ with the party against the court, grew every
 ‘ day more formidable, mens passions on
 ‘ both sides were heated, mutual distrust and
 ‘ jealousy took place; and religion also mixing
 ‘ in the quarrel, the patrons of civil liberty
 ‘ made their advantage of it, till enthusiasm,
 ‘ which gathered strength from the *arbitrary*
 ‘ *proceedings of the court*, and the *severity of the*
 ‘ *hierarchy*, grew rampant in its turn, and
 ‘ overturned not only the *hierarchy* but the
 ‘ *monarchy* too.’ This is the sum of the ge-
 neral history of those times, of which particu-
 lar facts are but so many proofs.

These were the mismanagements of king
Charles, his exercising an unlawful power,
 that is, a power to raise taxes without consent
 of parliament; his insulting, provoking, and
 falling out with them, instead of a becoming
 endeavour to please them, as if *majesty* con-
 sisted in *haughtiness*—never convoking them
 but when compelled by want, and when his
 wants were satisfied, suddenly adjourning or
 dissolving them again in a short time after
 their meeting; and at those times seizing some
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of their members; calling men to account out of parliament for what was said in it, which ought to be *the sanctuary of freedom*; and trying all the illegal ways he could to supply his need without them. *Eleven years did tyrannical power reign uncontrouled by parliament.* The king's protecting and defending evil ministers, that persuaded him into such measures, both abroad and at home, as were prejudicial to the nation.—His shewing favour to papists, and putting many of them into posts of power and authority, whom all protestants had reason to dread and abhor, remembering queen *Mary's burning reign*. Authorising archbishop *Laud's* tyranny, who fined men in his high-commission court at his pleasure, while the king's ministers, by his sole authority, did the same in the star-chamber.—His giving men reason to complain by hard and unjust usage, and denying them the liberty of complaint.—His raising an army against his *Scotch* subjects to force them to conformity and obedience to *Laud* and the liturgy. It was grievous to the king to redress the grievances of his subjects, which were often remonstrated, and perpetually augmented; and when he suffered them to be redressed, it seemed to be by constraint, and with a design to renew them.—The parliament's being
never.

never able to depend on his promises being fulfilled, if he had power to break them.—These things were the unhappy mismanagement of that king, which in the end brought on him the hatred of the people, and his own destruction. And as the king took extraordinary and unprecedented strides towards arbitrary power, the parliament were obliged to take extraordinary and unprecedented strides to prevent his engrossing it to the ruin of the people's properties and liberties. Though neither side were entirely innocent, or all their actions justifiable; and in such confusion of affairs, it is impossible they could be void of blame; yet 'tis enough if we see clearly which side was *most* in fault, and was the real occasion of all the faults of the other side.—It appears by the general conduct of Charles's reign, that he used his people not as a nursing father does his children, but as the Lord used his enemies, and made them such to himself, for *he ruled them as with a rod of iron, and broke them to pieces as a potter's vessel.*—The commons shewed their fidelity to the nation, in often entering into the consideration of the liberties and properties of the subject, and of the multitude of grievances complained of by the people, as it was their duty to do, who are chosen to be guardians of their liberties;

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liberties; and not to be creatures of the court, or tools of dominion, to enrich themselves and beggar the nation, but defenders of the kingdom, to redress an injured people from court-oppressions. They had a right, as it was their business to hear and examine into *grievances*, and do their endeavour to redress them. To whom should the people seek redress in *such* cases, but to their representatives? and when sought for in a *legal* manner, it was *illegal* not to do them *justice*; for that is to crush them with *injustice*.—Such vile infringements of the laws were so often made, that the parliament then must have had no regard to themselves, nor their country, not to be incensed at it.—The severities of the church and state increased the enemies to both. I may here set the church before the state, because the state was ruled by it.—Many then forsook their native country, forced by the inclemency of government, for shelter among the savages of *America*, hoping to enjoy life more to their satisfaction abroad, in an unknown and foreign country, than what they could expect at home.

As the duke of *Buckingham* was the man to whom (at the beginning of *Charles's* reign) the people imputed the cause of all their grievances, one lieutenant *Felton* undertook, at the
expence

expendence of his life, to attempt the redemption of the nation, by stabbing the duke to the heart, so that he fell down dead; and happy had it been, if *Felton's* success had been equal to his good intention, and undaunted action. Happy had it been, if the king could have learned *care* and *conduct* from it, by endeavouring to ease and please the people; and not by an obstinate disregard, or invincible stupidity, opened the fountain of their blood, which inevitably drew after it the loss of his own.—Actions well designed, but without success, are often blamed when men see the event, but not before. Many things are known to be wrong when they take a wrong turn to our expectations and desires.—The putting *Charles I.* to death, was not esteemed a sin by the nation, till *Charles II.* came in: The nation did not repent of it, till then; and till then, God did not seem displeased with them for the action; and then the Lord was displeased, or the priests belied him, as they have often done. *Charles the martyr* gives us a sample of what many other martyrs have been, who died for their folly and obstinacy, not for their wisdom and goodness. The mother church has many such martyrs in her calends; and its excuseable for the daughter to have one.—The power that is of God is a good

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a good governing power, or a power that governs us for our good : This excites a love to God, when he punishes us only for our reformation, not *visits the iniquities of the fathers on their innocent children*, for this prevents our loving him. The more dreadful we conceive him to be, the less love we have towards him.—A religious sense of deity must needs be, that God makes, or knows the difference we make between good and evil, and rewards or punishes according to the regard we have thereto. But, what is good and evil to man, is *really* and *necessarily* so to him, whether it be the same to God or no, and we must form our conduct by our sense and knowledge thereof in all things relating to ourselves and society, that is, we must judge, whether actions are fit or unfit, as they may be prejudicial or beneficial to ourselves or others, by the nature and necessity of their circumstances.—If we act for our own private good in opposition to that of the public, 'tis a vice ; and so much the greater, as the actor is a more public person, or person entrusted with the good of the public. An action for the *public good*, is an *extensive virtue* ; and the goodness is greater or less in degree, as it more or less redounds to the public interest or advantage. This is good and true policy, and better than any bad and false religion.

religion. And all religion is false and bad that has not this true policy in it. Seeing necessity requires, of two evils we should chuse the least; *private* good, when it comes in competition with the *public*, should be made to submit to it. If then taking away the life of *one man*, will redeem a *nation* from civil and intestine wars, *he knows nothing at all* who does not consider, that *it is good one man should die for the people, that the nation perish not.*

The king's endeavour to force episcopal government, with the discipline, ceremonies, and service of the church of *England*, on the *Scots* nation, set the *Scots* against him with no less zeal on their side, which produced the Solemn League and Covenant, to maintain their own mode of religion against all innovations.

—Religion is a thing of that nature, that though by pretending it, nothing is more easy than to wheedle people out of their senses, as appears by the pageantry, trumpery, idols, and brea den god of *Rome*; or though people may be brought up in what is called religion, without any sense at all of right or wrong, but as they are taught, as persecuting and burning men for conscience and judgment-sake, evidently shew; yet neither can *religion*, or what bears that name, bring forth the

fruit of good works, which is forcibly ushered in, and put on as a yoke with severity. Reason may sometimes prevail, but compulsion never, to make men abandon what they esteem sacred; for violence committed on the sacred veneration men have for what they esteem, and have been accustomed to esteem *religion*, stirs up their abhorrence to that violence, and turns their veneration to zeal, to enthusiasm, to frenzy; and then it is, men so irritated are fit to burn or be burnt. Whoever attempts to *fill God's house by compelling men to come in*, will find it the only way to *empty* it. This method, instead of driving any useful members in, will drive many out. He that endeavours to force mens consciences, in matters not injurious to the government, has no right notion either of government or of religion: for he that suppresses an honest conscience, suppresses religion. The conscience that would injure another, is an evil conscience; because it is an injurious one; therefore a popish conscience is such as deserves no toleration among protestants; because it suffers papists not to tolerate any other than their own. If it have toleration, therefore, among protestants, it is more than it deserves; and that toleration ought to be under proper restraints and limitations, to guard their own liberties against

against its baneful influence. It is much more safe to tolerate Mahometanism, Judaism, or Paganism, than Popery.—A right conscience towards God, can never injure others for conscience-sake.—*Religion* is nothing else but *believing in, and worshipping God, according to the dictates of conscience*, and if it hurts no body, nor has any tendency to it, it ought to be tolerated ; for not to tolerate such faith and worship, is destructive of sincerity and truth. And kindling a persecution against it by unwarrantable opposition, kindles the flame of enthusiasm in the persecuted. He that erects a church on the ruins of humanity, and carries a spiritual conquest over slaughtered consciences, is ignorant of divine and human nature, knows nothing of religion, and is a rebel to the majesty of heaven, which he pretends to worship; but 'tis the majesty of the priest he really promotes and pays his adoration to.—Ceremonies are *insignificant* as well as *indifferent* things ; but he makes them *essential* who raises contentions and bloodshed in defence of them. Such ceremonies and encroachments as are set up to pull down liberty, men may warrantably guard against and oppose.—Where liberty is rooted out, sincerity is rooted out ; impartial justice and goodness in such a state finds no place.—If

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God is a reasonable nature, form or no form equally pleases him, for *alike sincerity in all, must be alike acceptable from all*, by whatever mode, or in whatever manner the sincerity appears; as we are told, * *The Lord seeth not as man seeth, but the Lord regardeth the heart.* And again, † *The true worshippers worship the Father in spirit and in truth.* The best and only best things please the only best being.—Modes and externals please the men of mode and of superficial judgments.—Whatever way men use, which pleases themselves in serving God, cannot displease him; for the heart sanctifies the action, without which all is no more than mere fantastic fashion, empty ceremony, and foolish formality. God loves that men should please themselves in pleasing him, if he made us, as we are told, to give *us* pleasure and happiness, not to increase his own.—He who understands that *equal sincerity* in all religions is *equally acceptable* to God, will give liberty of conscience to all; but he that sees it not, is religiously blind, and piously stupid.—He that denies men liberty of conscience, makes some men hypocrites, and destroys those that cannot be so made. He destroys that sincerity among men which is the

* 1 Sam. xvi. 7. † John iv. 23.

only pure religion all the world over. Liberty of conscience to every man to worship God, and endeavour to please him in the best manner that appears to him, is as much the divine right of every subject, as power is the divine right of the best and most rightful kings on earth.—What I call the worship of God, is, that action which concerns only God and the worshipper, and has no relation to *meum* and *tuum*. An action which hurts no man, and which benefits no man but the worshipper. And as God is *the God of the spirits of all flesh*, he must have an equal regard to the spiritual worship, which is sincerity in all.—If it was evident to all, what sort of worship God loves or hates more than another, there would be some reason to value one better or worse than another. But till that is done, or appears on good proof, all sides have equal pretensions in their own way.—The consideration of man's ignorance of God, is sufficient to humble the spiritual pride of the most conceited enthusiast; for though there is not any thing in the world is more talked of, than of God, there is not any thing in the world less known; and the greatest priests know as little of him as the meanest men. Therefore methinks they should not presume too much, seeing though they bear the name

of *divines*, they are but little acquainted with *divinity*; therefore gentleness and moderation become all parties.

The king went to *Scotland* with an army of 20,000 men, to reduce the *Scots* to the obedience of prelatic power and common prayer. So the king first raised arms against his subjects, and taught them to stand up in their own defence against a deluge of arbitrary power. True it is, that he did not use his army against the *Scots*, because the *English* were not fond of assisting such power, the king being advised not to venture a battle: but if he had not intended it, why all that parade of power, and running the nation to such an unnecessary expence, when he was always in want of money? This wound was skinned over between the king and the *Scots* by a sort of truce rather than peace.—The *Scots* obstinately determined not to submit to any alteration in their religion, and the king as obstinately to make them, urged on by archbishop *Laud*, who managed the king's conscience, as men manage beasts of burden. Such stupid animals are kings who are enslaved by priests.—The king resolving to reduce the *Scots* by force of arms to his will, a numerous army is raised, but wanting money there was

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a necessity to call an *English* parliament, lest further impositions should further alienate the affections of the people. But the parliament when called had no desire to aggrieve the *Scots*; but to have their own grievances redressed. Brave men, that would not be biassed by court-threats nor flatteries! and though we pray for the pardon of their sins, it would become us more to mend our own.—This parliament not complying with the king's demands, nor he with theirs, it was dissolved in about three weeks, and as was usual with him, he sent some of the members to prison.—When power is in the hand of a foolish prince, his exercising it exposes his folly. His priest should have taught him *Solomon's* advice *, *Be not hasty in thy spirit to be angry, for anger resteth in the bosom of fools*.—Now the king prepares against the *Scots*, and the *Scots* against the king, and in the end the *Scots* had the advantage. The king is now obliged to call an *English* parliament to settle the disturbed state of the nation. This was the last parliament, which met in *November* 1640. And as the nation had been always oppressed, without being able to obtain any redress, and all former parliaments had been bubbled; they first appointed a

* Eccles. vii. 9.

select committee to draw up a remonstrance of all the grievances of the nation, which were numerous, but not presented till a year after. The king well knowing what he had to expect, shewed great compliance in giving his assent to all their bills, being awed, 'tis likely, into a sort of tractableness, by an army of *Scots* being in the nation.—The parliament went a great way in redressing the nation's grievances, and punishing the authors of them, which rendered them popular. Earl *Strafford* was brought to the block. The *high commission-court* and *star-chamber* were abolished, and many great and good things were done at the beginning of this parliament.—But though the king suffered them to go on great lengths, in delivering the nation from great oppressions, they knew it was contrary to his natural disposition; for he hated to have his authority limited by parliament, and was desirous of nothing more than of reigning without them; therefore, though they had passed a bill for triennial parliaments, they could not depend upon the security of that law; for what security can law afford, from one that tramples upon law; therefore they procured the king's assent to their *establishment* during their own pleasure, and having so done, they carried their point in all things they undertook to transact.—And well know-
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ing their power had been despised, and as it were, annulled for some time before, they looked with a jealous eye on all the actions of the king, and resolved, by way of self defence, to stand by and protect one another, and to prescribe due limits to that tyrannical power, which had enslaved the nation fifteen years before.—They knew that to make lions tame, is to fetter them, and that then, though they may seem tame, yet as soon as they slip their fetters, they appear to be lions still. Whether the king feared those he had before insulted and irritated; for tyrannical tempers under power, or in fear, are the most abject; or whether he was under some better sort of tuition, like *Nero* under *Seneca*, that he behaved in a tractable manner for a while; I shall not pretend to determine; but certain it was, they knew the man. Therefore they had a jealous eye on all his actions; and as they could never trust him with safety, when he went afterwards to *Scotland*, they had as much reason to fear, he would contrive to bring a *Scotch* army against them, as he had before raised an *English* army against the *Scots*, contrary to the will of the *English* parliament and people.—Men of sense and penetration have the gifts of discerning the spirits of other men, more than the imprudent and unwary

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can discern their own; and time made it appear, their mistrust and jealousy was not ill-founded. The king, who was always as weak in his conduct, as he was tyrannical in temper; could no longer be restrained: the severity and folly of his disposition discovered itself, though at the most improper season: for as the proverb says, *Muffled cats are no good mousers*. It was now too late to begin again to attempt the shewing his great power when he had suffered his head to be shorn; and though he awoke and said, *I will go forth as at other times, and shew my great strength; he knew not that the Lord was departed from him,* and was now with the parliament; for the Lord is never on the side of *weakness and folly*. Undoubtedly this condescension in the king's delivering so much of his *regalia* to the parliament, was a proof of a weak judgment, if he was right in maintaining it at first so strenuously, that he always disoblige his parliaments, and would if he could have reigned without any; but if he was right in his complacency, because he saw his former error; why did he foolishly assume such authority again, in sending officers to the house of lords and commons, to seize some of their members, and to deliver articles of impeachment against them of high treason, and at the same time,

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by his sole authority, to send persons to seal up their doors, trunks, and papers? And why did he come himself with an armed band the next day to demand their delivering up those members? Does this look like a thorough conviction of his error? or was it only the effect of *restraining grace*? Was not this like *the dog's returning to his vomit again*, and like *the sow that was washed, to her wallowing in the mire*? Did it not evidently shew the nature of the man, that *the old man*, the old tyrannical nature was yet in him, and that he had *not put him off with his deeds*; that he had not put on *the new man in righteousness and sincerity*, but in profession and external appearance only? Did not those clear sighted men the commons see through him? Was not their inward jealousy confirmed and increased by this outward proof of his *unconverted state*? Had not then the commons, the guardians of the people's liberties, reason to be on their guard against all his actions? Did not they well, in withstanding such tyrannical spirit, and in sending a serjeant at arms to break open the seals, and apprehend those that put them on? for if they had not made a stand against these arbitrary proceedings, all they had done before had been to no purpose. And did they not well, to make an order,

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forbidding

forbidding the seizing any of their members without leave of the house, authorizing all members to stand upon their guard, and all constables and other officers to assist them? For had they not done this, they had established themselves as members of parliament in vain; nay, they had not established themselves at all; for if they had left it in the king's power to apprehend any of them at his pleasure, he might have gone on, and by such repeated acts, soon demolished the parliament. No doubt but if they could have trusted the king to the *laws*, and permitted their triennial act to take place when they were dissolved, they would not have continued themselves by a *new* act; which, though it was contrary to any *former*, was however *law*; because it was agreed to by the king, lords and commons; for such agreement makes law by the constitution of this realm; and extraordinary cases may require extraordinary acts to be made for to every new necessity a new law must be adapted, and proportioned to the exigency of the case. But if a king, or his ministers by his command, act contrary to law, it is unlawful, and they are culpable of the breach of the laws of the land.—Force must be opposed by force, and deceit may be subverted by deceit, when other methods fail,

or man has not an equal regard for self defence. Where there is good ground for jealousy, men ought always to be upon their guard; and never part with their power, when they fear being attacked; and so much the more exert themselves, as the enemy is great in authority. Kings that use their power to prey on the people, *Solomon* compares to roaring lions and raging bears; and they are not more merciful when their indignation is stirred up, and revenge is in their reach.—He that takes away a people's liberties, has a design on their properties; and their lives are next at his mercy. Let kings alone to engross power, and the property of his subjects, and their liberties and lives will follow.—If *Charles* did not grasp at this, why did he pretend peace to his parliament, and prepare for war against them, by sending his queen to *Holland*, to buy up arms and ammunition, and putting the crown-jewels into her hands for that purpose—Arbitrary power is what no man breathing ought to be trusted with; therefore 'tis good policy, to overturn the bad machinations that any person makes use of to obtain it: for when it is obtained by any king, there remains no remedy to any people: seldom doth the death of the tyrant redeem them, if his heirs succeed, though a
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sea of blood be spilt to recover their lost liberty.

After this fresh provocation given the parliament, the king, perceiving how unpopular he had rendered himself, sent two messages to them in a complying humour; telling them he would wave his proceedings against the six members, and be as careful of their privileges, as of his own life and crown: and offered a general pardon. But pardon could not be grateful; when himself was the aggressor.— Now either the parliament saw that this was *temporizing* and *flattery*, knowing his natural disposition, or it appeared to them, he was like those christians that are always *sinning and repenting*, whose repentance and reformation never last longer than the influence of the cause that occasioned it. Whether of these ways they judged, his word appeared to them not to be confided in; their jealousy was confirmed, the fire was rekindled; they judged their lives and liberties were in danger from his power, and therefore it was to be retrenched as much as possible. Things were now carried to that pitch, and mutual jealousies raised so high, that the people could neither trust the king, nor the king the people. Had they submitted to the king's authority, in all probability they would have been crushed.

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And the king seemed resolved not to suffer a diminution of his *divine* power, as his courtiers and favourite priests persuaded him that he was a *divinity*; and weak heads exalted on an eminence, are always made giddy thereby. Ambitious spirits chuse rather to reign in hell, than serve in heaven.

The sudden starts of mischief and treachery in the king, were a good foundation of jealousy to the parliament and people. And when will not fire increase fire where there is fuel? It increased here to a flame, till the king was burnt in the fire which himself had kindled: for in him was fulfilled the threatening of the Lord by the prophet *Isaiah*, (l. 11.) *Behold all ye that kindle a fire, that compass yourselves about with sparks; that walk in the light of the fire and in the sparks ye have kindled. This shall ye have of mine hand, ye shall lie down in sorrow.* And so it came to pass with those that had kindled the fire on both sides; and if the Lord hath executed the fierceness of his wrath on them already, will he do it again on us? Doth he not know when to have done? that the nation yet fast and howl before the Lord, and rather pelt him with prayers, if I may so say, than pray with true piety; for as *Isaiah* saith, lvii. 4, *Behold ye fast*

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fast for strife and debate, and to smite with the fist of wickedness. Is this such a fast as I have chosen, a day for a man to afflict his soul? Wilt thou call this a fast, and an acceptable day to the Lord?—They fast, pray, and preach in spite to their brethren; therefore he that sits in heaven laughs them to scorn, and has them in derision: therefore this their righteousness is as filthy rags, and they ought to pray God to forgive them the iniquity of their holy things. The wise God heareth not the prayers of fools; because they are foolish prayers.—Not, but I would have this droning day forever kept, to shew the world the mockery of religion; how one party, pretending piety, calls on God to pardon that sin of theirs which they never committed; while the other party that did the action, and in like circumstances would do it again, think it was an action worthy of as much praise as stabbing Cæsar in the capitol. When those that did the action ruled, God was not mocked by a national repentance for it, and yet in all appearance, he is not in better friendship with us, than he was with them, notwithstanding all our prayers and penitence, which appear to be all in vain; since being yet continued, they have not yet answered their end, in making atonement and procuring pardon: and

no wonder, for God loves not fools, nor hypocrites; and therefore wisely rejects their foolish, or hypocritical humiliation. However, it is very fit and necessary this day should be for ever kept, to remind kings that if they are desirous of living the *life*, they may expect to die the *death* of that king, which this day celebrates.

The flame which begun in *England*, burnt to the utmost bounds of *Scotland*, and reached even to *Ireland*, where the *Irish*, to make use of the advantage, destroyed 40,000 protestants settled there, by innumerable acts of barbarity; which, if only done to free themselves from the *English* yoke, whether countenanced by the king or not. Certain it is, that he regarded not the life of his protestant subjects; but the only thing he regarded was, that he might have sole dominion over them; to this end, he called for his forces from *Ireland*, that he might employ them against his parliament in *England*; whereby it's plain, he judged that the settling his own authority on the destruction of the constitution, was more necessary, than revenging the blood of 40,000 protestants, or securing *Ireland* under the dominion of the crown of *England*; and therefore, he either knew, the *Irish* papists
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that committed those massacres, were his friends, and he could trust them to secure *Ireland* to his obedience; or he was willing to lose a kingdom, to have revenge of his protestant subjects. And he that thirsts for dominion by blood, or that endeavours to wade to it through a sea of blood, deserves a bloody reward.—In short, the consequence was, what is very natural, and in such case will always be, that both king, courtiers, and high-flying priests on one side, and the parliament and people on the other, secured what power each party could for themselves; for it was not safe for the parliament to trust their persons in the power of the king, nor did the king think it safe, to trust his power with their persons. And the steps that each party took, but enraged the other; which of necessity terminated in the utter ruin of one of them. And as in nature the same causes will always have the same effects; so the same circumstances would always produce the same event, was the affair acted in any age or country in the world.—It happened at the end of eight years intestine wars which followed, to terminate by the death of the king, and his death alone could put an end to the blood that was spilt on his account. And sure it was better that *one man should die for the*

the preservation of the people, than the whole nation should perish.

If *Charles* received his royal power from God alone, it is more than any king in this world ever did.—But *Charles* mistook his kingdom, for *it was not of this world*; therefore he was removed out of it, to seek a better, for which he was doubtless better qualified; for I don't dispute the goodness of the *man*, but the goodness of the *king*; who seems to me to have been the reverse to what some have said of king *David*, that he was one of the *best of kings*, but one of the *worst men*. Whereas on the contrary, king *Charles* who 'tis said was one of the *best of men*, was one of the *worst kings* in the world, as archbishop *Laud* was a very famous churchman, but a very infamous christian. As for religion, 'tis certain *Charles* had enough in him to set up a bishop, and a greater stock of *that* sort than kings ought to have. Yet this unhappy prince deserves our pity, as well as the nation under his government; he being stupidly instructed by the pedant, his dogmatical father, in his younger years, was so fitted in maturer age to receive the malignant impressions of his spiritual *Laud* and court flatterers, who sowed those seeds in him, that growing up, brought ruin to the nation and himself.

himself. And one would think, that *be being made perfect through sufferings*, and happy before his natural time, it does not require a hundred years penance of a whole nation, for sending the soul of so good a man, among the souls of the blessed: and that the exchanging a mortal inglorious crown, for a crown of immortality and glory, was such a sufficient and satisfactory advantage to him, that he and his friends have reason to thank God and the nation, for such happy translation. And had it been done sooner, it had saved the lives of thousands more than it did. Necessity makes things unlawful, to be lawful. That which justifies war, in the defence of the rights and liberties of the people, from tyranny from abroad, will justify whatever measures necessity obliges people to take, to defend their rights and liberties against tyrants at home. But no man's liberty or property is now at all invaded, every man *sits under his own vine, and under his own fig-tree*; enjoys the fruits of his labour, and may worship God according to his conscience, if he has any good conscience at all; if his conscience don't mislead him to overturn the state, and the consciences of all those that are led by more reason and humanity than himself.

In all probability, the presbyterians would not have attempted to overturn the episcopal church,

church, if that church, when governed by archbishop *Laud*, had not endeavoured to overturn them. It must be owned, the church was the aggressor, or his tyrannical behaviour over them in it, which had the favour and protection of sovereign power. As both king and pontiff confederated together, and encouraged each other, to humble and demolish the power and liberty of nonconformists, both civil and religious; what was more natural, than for them to stand up in their own defence, to grasp that power which was capable of defending them against both civil and religious tyranny: and when they had grasped it, to use it as a scourge on their adversaries, and pay them in their own coin by way of retaliation? Men may talk what they will, that religion being the subject of the quarrel, by the principles of that religion they ought not to have gone such lengths as they did; the laws of religion will always subside when they are against the laws of nature, as soon as nature has power to prevail; and they will find reasons to comprehend the laws of retaliation in their religion, which before appeared opposite to it. For though the doctrine of *loving our enemies* may be preached, and embraced in sentiments when men have no enemies, or may seem to be embraced and practised,

tified, when retaliation is out of their power; yet when the power is turned, the tables are turned; when wrath prompts opportunity to action, then you shall hear another sort of religious doctrine maintained by the ascendant party; then the *vengeance of the Lord of hosts* is to be executed to maintain his *honour*. Then you find it commanded, * *Reward her even as she has rewarded you; nay more, double unto her double according to her works: in the cup which she hath filled, fill to her double, then torment and sorrow, plagues, death, famine and fire, follow to the conquered party. And this gives joy to the conquerors. Thus it ever was, and thus it will ever be; men's passions will direct men's conduct, as policy and power give liberty to their actions.—Tho' revenge is not always laudable, yet it is generally justifiable, because necessary to awe men in power, not to exercise their power tyrannically and wickedly. Retaliation of injuries, not exceeding measure for measure, is therefore just, needful, and proper to be executed, being that chiefly which awes the wicked, and keeps men within the bounds of duty or moral behaviour. If I allow that christians, as such, ought not to revenge in-*

* Rev. xviii. 6.

juries done them, yet it must be allowed too, that christians are men, no more divested of passions than others, and those passions have the same influence, on the same occasions, over christians as over other men; therefore they, in such cases, will act as other men, even as *heretics* and *infidels* do; for when was it known that ever they did otherwise? I don't think there is an *infidel*, *deist*, or *ath.ist* in the world would burn a man for his religion, but if they were burnt by people of any religion, as soon as they had it in their power, they would destroy the power of that religion; and reason just, and practice good. And these (if they feared not God) would be as obedient to a mild and merciful king that acted for his subjects good, as any subjects the king had; but if like *Satan* on *Job*, he put forth his hand to destroy their properties, and their liberties, and torment their flesh, they would be as fit to rebel, and as zealous in the cause as other men, that are prompted on to action by the fury or enthusiasm of religion. And all men, religious or not religious, will do the same when excited by *oppression*, which *makes a wise man mad*.

He that redeems men from tyrannic power, and brings liberty and peace to an enslaved nation, even tho' it is but already begun, and
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a certain prospect of it appears ; he that from such a state, frees a kingdom by his virtue and valour, is *by nature a king*, and *born to reign*, therefore has in himself *divine right* from God, his actions are a sufficient proof of it ; and that slavish religion which is a friend to arbitrary power in the prince and priest, in any nation, is inimical and injurious to the peace and happiness of mankind. And such religion should be kept in a state of subjection, whose leaders and abettors are promoters of slavery in civil and religious government. Both civil and religious tyrants are such fast friends to each other, that they cannot well be separated ; they rise and fall together.

One may generally know the *goodness* of mens religion, by the spirit that maintains it ; for the worst opinions are generally maintained with the worst spirit by those that embrace them. And it is no wonder, if stupid principles or frantic opinions, should have stupid or frantic effects in practice. *By their fruits ye shall know them.*—That religion which teaches men to damn and burn those that cannot embrace it, ought to be condemned by all men. Better would it be for mankind, than maintain such religion, to extirpate all religion out of the world. It is more to the honour

honour of God, to say he requires no worship of us, than such a worship as makes man inhuman, and the world miserable. What is it but religious madness to affirm, that all men will be damned who are not of this or that faith, or who do not conform to this or that church discipline, or sort of worship? For seeing these all damn one another, don't they all prove themselves to be mad? Needs there a greater proof, when neither party will be directed by cool reason, which alone can cure their madness? The furious and bigotted spirit is equally bad in all religions; it is the spirit of popery in them all, which nothing but time and reason can expel. —Anger and rage on one side, breeds anger and rage on the other, so does a persecuting spirit in a church, stir up the same spirit in that which is persecuted. These who are first in the quarrel, are the cause of the effect that follows. If the presbyterians persecuted the episcopal church, it was a sign of a bad spirit, but it was first stirred up by the episcopalians; they were first, and therefore greatest in fault; though nothing is more common than to lay the *whole blame* on the provoked, not on those that gave the provocation; and yet nothing is more wrong, for it is as natural for anger, indignation, and

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resentment, to arise from oppression, abuse, and injury given, as for fire to kindle fire; and men must be devoid of passion to be otherwise, which is more than any men are. Therefore to the public peace-breakers all the consequences of the public disturbance are owing.

O! cry churchmen, the presbyterians are a pack of wicked rogues, they pulled down the church! Nay, say I, not so; for they possessed themselves of the churches, and so became churchmen. But the church-folk pulled down the meeting-houses, in *my time*, and would have pulled down all in the nation, if they had not been stopped by force. Was not this religious high-church frenzy and fanaticism? though this very party called the other fanatics! so madmen know not their own mad-ness, and think others mad: but the churchmen, to have been even with the nonconformists, instead of pulling down their meeting houses, should have gone and preached in them. The presbyterians indeed pulled down the common prayer, because God should not be on the side of the church; for if they did not pray, to be sure the Lord could not hear them, and they could not pray without book, at the same time the presbyterians themselves pray'd for dear life—and liberty to pray.

But

But suppose they did pull down the church, was not the church as bad which would have pulled down the presbyterians at the same time? They wanted not will, but power. I don't suppose any nonconformists would have had any intention or thought of robbing the church of her bishops and godly gear, if archbishop *Laud* had been a good man, and not, like a wolf in sheep's cloathing, have worried Christ's sheep in his spiritual courts. No doubt but the church might have *dröed* in peace, had she let her sister church *toned* in peace. But at the end, the fortune of war turned for the dissenting party, and whatever party lose the day, they must be at the mercy of those that get it. Those that fall undermost must submit to them that get uppermost. What was the fate of the episcopals and common-prayer-mongers, would have been the fate of the presbyterians, had they lost the field. But they fought with the spirit, as well as prayed by the spirit; and it happened at that time *to help their infirmities*. Indeed, in my opinion, it is the fairest way of living to live and let live, not to have any business monopolized. Religion, like trade, ought to be free. It is best dealing at an open market; by that means we have a more reasonable choice, and at a more reasonable

rate. When you have only *Hobson's* choice, you must pay *Hobson's* price. Parsons, when they find people can by no means help themselves, but must deal with them alone, are as great extortioners as any pawnbrokers whatever. Why should not every man chuse for himself in spirituals, as well as in temporals, and buy those wares he likes best, or thinks he has most need of, seeing he must pay for them. Religion is a thing of choice, and he has no religion, that never chose any himself, for himself; but if he seems to have any, it is the religion of another he puts on, but not his own. It was the religion of the person that first chose it, but is not his that wears it, and that person might, perhaps, be his great grandfather's great grandmother; and it may have been, of a very different fashion from his, worn in the family till it becomes quite thread-bare. Many families have religion by *hereditary right*, and this they take to be *divine*, but if it was so, it would be by *election* and *grace*, both on the side of Christ and the christian. Let either of them chuse first, they must *both* chuse; or else neither does the professor chuse Christ, nor Christ the professor. Therefore, in the day of judgment, will not Christ say to such, *Depart from me, I know you not*; and the professor, if he speaks the truth,

truth, must answer, *Nor do I know you.* What will become of these in that day, the day must declare.—But should any be so honest (for in that day men may be allowed to speak the truth) as to say, the priests of his country would not let him chuse, for they would damn him if he did. And I suppose this will be the complaint of millions. Let the priests look to it. I think it is but just that they should be damn'd for 'em. If any had liberty to chuse for himself, but depended on the priest to chuse for him; how can he think it unjust, that the priest should be saved for him. But as priests in all such cases, chuse for others what is most consistent with their own interest, they are paid *here*,—therefore it is unreasonable for them to expect to be paid again *hereafter*: therefore both these we may reckon the Lord's chaff, which he will winnow from him with the fan of his word.—And suppose one is called to the bar, who, upon being asked his religion, declares upon his conscience, that as he lived in such days of fury, wherein every religious party damned each other, for fear of being damned (by all the rest) he chose none; and not thinking it safe to depend on mercenary priests, thought it better to preserve an honest conscience, and to place his whole dependence on the *merits*

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of the son, or the mercies of the father only. Will not the *son* or the *father* take pity of him, think you, and save him for his honesty and fidelity, if not for faith and formality's sake? God cannot condemn a just man, and be just himself. But he whose faith and worship makes him inhuman and injurious to men, mistakes the true God for *Molech*, or *Mals*, and he that makes his *interest* the motive of his choice, instead of serving the God of heaven, he serves the god of this world, *worldly power*, and a *worldly disposition*. Men that will not do justice here, will surely there feel justice done them, for the devil is just in his own dominions; how else can he be the executioner of justice? and there must be justice in hell, if there is mercy in heaven.

Nothing I think shews more the government of a good God, or his regard of this world, than that great criminals armed with power receive condign punishment in it; for what they receive in another world, those in this, know nothing of: therefore God's conduct in *that world*, is no proof to us of his moral character in *this*. Certainly power and greatness cannot sanctify wickedness in high places. If it be criminal to condemn *great criminals*, justice is all a farce, and power is only right, whether it be executed rightly or

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heads to their own undoing. Had it not been for their ambition to rule as they ought not, both might have *lived and died in peace*. He that makes a prince's head giddy with unlawful power, paves the way for his destruction.

We blame that age, but not our own. They put a bad king to death. We expelled another, not killed him; because his heels saved his head. But we do worse than they, when we blame our redeemer, the *ILLUSTRIOUS WILLIAM*, for the action of redeeming us, and settling liberty on that glorious foundation on which it now stands. We were again redeemed by the bravery and conduct of another *WILLIAM*, from slavery rolling on like a deluge, and him, and that very glory which freed the nation, we now depreciate. They cut off a *head* that was troublesome to the *body*; we have several times rebelled against our head, in which *the life, safety, and health of the body depends*, against those that have settled and secured those civil and religious liberties to us, which they prayed and fought for; and is desirable and acceptable to all wise and good men, in all nations and in all ages. O let this day be for ever kept, to perpetuate the infamy of his tyrannic reign, and the holiness and power of high-church, that it is capable of making one, who was so
great

great a sinner in his life, so glorious a saint and martyr at his death; consecrating not only the man, but tyranny, oppression, and bigotry; and that generations yet unborn may know the hard and bloody struggle their ancestors had to preserve the liberty they have conveyed to them, and awake to the sense of its inestimable value. And whenever they are in like danger of losing it, let them cry unto the Lord, and say in the words of his prophet of old, * *Awake, awake; put on strength, O arm of the Lord; awake as in the ancient days, in the generations of old. Art not thou the same arm that hast wounded the proud; and hewn the dragon in pieces?*

It cannot be denied, that actions are known to be good or evil by the intentions and consequences. Now to judge by this maxim, the putting king *Charles* to death, being intended to put an end to civil wars, and the consequence was, that it did so, and prevented the death of many men, and valuable members of the commonwealth, every one of which could not be less useful to the public, than the king. For how could he be useful to the public, who destroyed the peace, pro-

* *Isaiah li. 9.* So the old translation renders the latter part of the verse.

erties, and lives of the public?—If he was a king appointed by God, he was such a king over this island, as the stork was, which devoured the frogs, whom *Jupiter* sent to rule over them.—To plead or pretend, that it is for men's *sins*, such kings are commissioned by heaven to rule over them, is an ignorant subterfuge; for do they make men *less sinful*, and not rather much *greater sinners* than they were before? unless *robbery* and *murder*, the necessary consequences of war, are no sins. Does God punish sin with sin? or does sin make an atonement for sin? if so, a less degree of sin displeases God, but a greater degree propitiates him. Or does God disapprove of some sort of sins, and approve of others? If he does, it may be hoped, that the sin of putting king *Charles* to death, might atone for the sins of the king, and of the nation committed on his account, as reasonably as the sin of putting *Christ* to death, atoned for the sins of men. Is heaven more pleased with earth when set in a tumult, or is there sometimes a disorder in the divine mind, and allayed by the disorder of mankind? This, as my reason informs me, is a false and stupid imagination. Does God regard men in such degree, as they are advanced to power and dignity by men? Is *his* judgment conducted by

by *ours* in the estimation of things? I am sure, if God exalts men in and over the state, according to the value he has for them, *our* judgments are not conducted by *his*.—Kings reign by divine right, when they reign as they ought; but to say they reign by divine right, when they trample upon right divine, upon law and justice, and reign as they ought not, is a sacrilegious doctrine, and profaning, if not blaspheming, divine nature. If the persons of kings are divine, and sacred in the sight of God, let them rule as they will, then power is divinity, and authority is sanctity; and lawless sway may be lawful government; then the office of a king is not an ordination for the public good, but the public were ordained for his good, and then to be sure, God makes the people for the sake of the king; and his life alone, is of more value than the lives of all the kingdom. If so, what the high priest spake, by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, is not true, that *it is better one man die, than the nation perish*. If this was true when applied to Christ, one would think, as *Charles* was not, to be sure, so good a man, it was better, at least to the people of this land, for *their temporal state*, that their sovereign *Charles* should die to save the further effusion of the nation's blood,

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and their liberty, than that the Lord *Christ* should die to save the temporal state of the *Jews*, which was all that *Caiaphas* meant, though the Holy Ghost might have a further meaning. If God only regards kings, and the good of the people are below his notice, as must be the case, if the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance be right; then are the people in evil case! in evil case no doubt! But this is contrary to what we are taught, that *God is no respecter of persons*, and if *a sparrow cannot fall to the ground* without his notice, and we are *better than they*, in his sight; if *he takes care of even only for our sakes†*, sure we ought to take care of being gored, for our own sakes, by any person armed with power, or claiming a power over us. 'Tis reasonable to think that those to whom God has a peculiar regard to, more than to other men, he has given them some *greater endowments* of body or mind, more than he has to other men; but if nothing of this appears in them, how does the proof of it appear? It seems also reasonable to believe, that God guards his peculiar favourites in a peculiar manner, and yet what king cares to trust himself to God's guard only, if he can

* 1 Cor. ix. 9, 10.

get other guard beside?—That this *divine right* should be *indefeasible* and *hereditary* too, is such a piece of *priestcraft* and *imposition* on the common understandings of men, that there is no man of any common understanding, but what must see the folly, absurdity, and villainy of it. Let them produce the original grant, warrant, commission, or indenture, written above, signed and sealed below, and the witnesses. 'Tis not fit we should take the priest's word, who asserts what he is ignorant of, or contrary to what he knows: He that does, will be priest-ridden with a witness; it being an evident witness of priestly imposition. Or to prove that any *particular line* of princes are so eminently exalted above the rest of all mankind, to have their authority from God alone; sure they ought to be proved to be descendants from above, that the first of the race came down from heaven, or was begotten by some God originally, not an *imaginary* but a *real God*, not *Jove* or *Mars*, whose godships are now dead and buried; and that the breed has not degenerated down to manhood. Let the assertors of this doctrine also prove that the *Stuart* race are of this heaven-born blood; for I think they have never conferred that *honour* on any other family, nor preached the doctrine of *passive obedience* to any other princes,

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princes, an *honour* peculiarly great to *them* of all others; because *they* of all others deserved it so little! This is all they have to prove, and if they cannot prove this *one* thing, of *their indefeasible hereditary right*, who have asserted it with so much warmth, casting about *fire-brands, arrows, and death* to support and vindicate it, and therefore ought to have been very sure, they were very right in doing so: I say, if they cannot prove this, who can believe them in any other point, or, who ought to believe them without producing their authentic credentials?

He that suffers such doctrines to be preached to him, or of him, has a *mean head*, and a *monstrous heart*; for he must be a man of *mean* judgment, and a *monster* in the judgment of other men that have understanding.—If we go to scripture for our rule, God gave to *David* and to his descendants the kingdom of *Israel* by oath, and yet God chose rather, not to insist too strictly on the performance of his oath, than disoblige his people. Nay, God gave up *his own prerogative* rather than *their liberty*. He let them have a *king* to their mind, and let the king have a *God* to his mind. God himself did not force men to worship him contrary to their own inclinations. If therefore any officious set of men pretend

pretend to regard men's service of God, more than God regards mens service, it is for their own service they make those pretensions, and shew of zeal for God, in an ungodly manner. And why should any earthly king insist on his prerogative, more than the king of kings insists on his; seeing * *in time past he suffered all nations to walk in their own ways*. God surely knows better, what he has to do, and how to do his will, than man does. If man can serve God better than God can serve himself, God may be obliged to man for serving him; but if God cannot be obliged by man's service, man can only serve himself in serving God.—But what if God gave the kingdom of *Israel* to *David*, and his sons, by *divine hereditary right*, what's that to us? How came the transition from *Israel* to *England*, and from *David* to *Stuart*? Our constitution of government is as different from theirs, as that people, time, and place, are different from ours. They had *prophets* that knew the will of God, and received their revelation from him; but our *priests* know no more of the will and revelation of God, than we do; for they know no more of it than what they read, and we know as much, and understand it as

● Acts xiv. 16.

well;

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well. Besides, *the gospel gives no rule about national government*; therefore God leaves all *christian nations to walk in their own ways*, as he did the nations *in time past*. Therefore it is not the business of christian priests to direct christian governors; 'tis impertinent in them to prescribe or meddle in state-matters, unless their assistance or advice is called for, or commanded by the state. And as *Christ's kingdom was evidently not of this world*, what have they to do to interfere and concern themselves with worldly kingdoms and affairs. Christ came to set us free, and is it their business, who profess to be his servants to enslave us? It is both ridiculous and insolent, for the servant to pretend to have more authority than the master; *the servant is not greater than his Lord*. How then can those who call themselves Christ's ministers, pretend to worldly power and authority, when their master had none, *had not where to lay his head*. Were they to have no wages, but what their master Christ is to give them, there would be very few but what would quit his service; though those Christ sends, he will no doubt reward. They that pretend to have their mission from him, not from the state or the people, and therefore claim civil dominion, claim what their master never did, should have no reward.

ward, but such as he thinks fit to give them, from whom they pretend to be sent: for this very good reason, because they assume a tyrannical authority over those on whom they are dependents for their livings, and who pay them their wages; especially when humility and obedience to lawful kings and magistrates is their lawful and just duty, that they may, by their example, teach men to lead *quiet and peaceable lives in all godliness and honesty.* Their doctrine and behaviour ought to be such, as may bring *glory to God, peace on earth, and good-will to men.* This is *gospel*; and this is the business of the *ministers of the gospel.* They ought not to *lord it over God's heritage.* Their duty is not to rule, but to obey, not to use force and violence, but meekness and instruction; both in life and doctrine promoting righteousness.

Be it known to all kings and princes, that those who preach unlimited obedience to them, do it for some base end; but will practise it no more than those that maintain opposition in some cases to be lawful and just, for there is no such obedience in man's nature; they preach a doctrine unnatural which cannot be practised, and therefore will be no more regarded by them than by others: for such doctrines

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doctrines of religion as are against nature, whatever gloss may be put upon them, cannot, and will not be obeyed; and are therefore arbitrary, tyrannical, and unjust. Religion should restrain and regulate mens passions, not presume to crucify or extirpate them; for that is a presumptuous aiming to make men other creatures than ever God designed them; therefore such aims are equally stupid and wicked. Should any king put forth his hand to oppress the clergy, as king *Charles* oppressed his subjects, and *Laud* the laity; the clergy will be as ready as any other men to blow *the trumpet of sedition, and the alarm of war*; not will they be content with bare exercising their spiritual terrors in the next world, and sufferings in this. *The battle will be the Lord's* of whatever regiment in religion the clergy be; and I have always observed, that the most zealous assertors of passive obedience, have been men of the most resisting and turbulent tempers. That they love tyranny, is very apparent, because they always promote it; and always deify that king who deifies them; who gives his power and dominion to them; though by his actions he be apparently *the vilest of men*: which shews, in the most glaring light, their extreme partiality, being always ready to sanctify and applaud whatever
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men or measures contribute to their advantage, to heap on them wealth and dominion, though they are of the darkest hue that moral characters can represent.

God who for the good of man, *spared not his own son*, for the good of the kingdom, *spared not the king*; esteeming it *better that one man should die for the people, than the nation perish*. Nor does it appear to me that the one was less necessary in the different nature and reason of thing than the other. For had the nation submitted to the king's will, it had, in all peradventure, remained enslaved at this day; for when his vengeance had been irritated by opposition, in all probability there would have been no end, till tyranny had established its seat by blood, and popery by fire. But what if the church had not been subject to the pope at *Rome*, if it erected a pope at *Conterbury*, would that have mended the matter? What if it had not all the popish trumpery and ceremonies, if it had her tyranny and cruelty, how would the matter have been mended? His grace of *Conterbury* was graciously pleased to declare, that *he hoped to see the time when never a Jack gentleman in England should dare to stand with his hat on before the meanest priest*. This was sufficient to shew, that he drove at making every gentleman servile and submissive to every mean spiritual

tual tyrant, and that he hoped to make all priests rampant in power.

Though I may have seemed to have treated the divine right of king *Charles* without divine homage or veneration, yet if we consider rightly of the matter, there was a sort of *Athanasian* divinity, something like *trinity in unity* in the family; for such as *Charles* was, such was the father *James*, and such was *James* the son, in majestic prerogative co-equal, in religion co-external. As was the tree, such was the fruit. And as we found the fruit naught, we contradict ourselves to mourn over the tree, as if it had been good, which there was judged to be a necessity to cut down. Our fathers began the struggle for liberty against an arbitrary family, and we finished it with glory. Can that which is glorious in us, be inglorious in them? They for the peace and security of the state, cut off the head of the father; we, for the same reason, cut off the tail of the son; though it had been better for us if we had cut off his head also. But this was the judgment of God executed upon *them*, that he might have mercy upon *us*; for his judgments are always mixt with mercy. Such judgments the Lord threatened to his *Israel* of old, * *The Lord will cut*

* *Isaiah* ix. 14.

off from Israel head and tail, branch and rush in one day.

If we may judge of men's dispositions by their actions, if the tree be known by its fruit, this prince was certainly weak in his judgment, obstinate, and vindictive in his temper, and very insincere as hypocrites are ; and therefore no wonder if he affected to be thought religious, and so fond of ignorant devotion and religious ceremonies, that he became a slave to priests ; and endeavoured, as tutored by them, to enslave the people. Though it must be confessed, the king had a conscience, and a very great one ; for when he had to do with the consciences of others that were different from his, it swallowed them all up, as *Aaron's rod* swallowed up the rods of the *Egyptian Magi*. And 'tis well known, that the rod of the priest's power always endeavours to swallow up all other power, and often does so.—In *Charles's* younger years he was looked on by all that knew him to be of a very obstinate disposition, which his mother much lamented ; and publicly confessed, that *she feared he would live to be the ruin of himself, and occasion the loss of the three kingdoms by his obstinacy*.—If any thing hindered him from being a papist, it was his love of *prerogative* ; for notwithstanding the strictness of the laws against papists at the beginning of his reign,

reign, he granted them a general pardon and indulgence; and declared, *it was his will that all the laws against them should stand discharged.* Thus he early discovered himself a friend to popery and tyranny.—And as the king and priesthood grasped at absolute authority, and increased in the exercise of it over the people, so the dire effects of their tyranny and cruelty increased. Their new invented and erected high-commission courts and star-chamber were nearly related to popish inquisition, by which monstrous cruelties were committed, and prodigious fines imposed on great numbers of persons, some of whom were men of the best reputation, parts and learning, of which it may not be improper to give a sample, whereby to judge of others.

Mr. *Prynne*, for reflecting on the court and archbishop *Laud* in his writings, was prosecuted in the star-chamber, and sentenced to pay 5000*l.* to the king, to stand twice in the pillory, to have both his ears cut off, one at each time, to be afterwards imprisoned during pleasure without use of pen, ink or paper, and to be stigmatized on both cheeks with S. L. denoting a seditious libeller.

Two or three years after, the same *Prynne*, and *Bastwick*, and *Burton*, for writing some
reflec-

reflections on the hierarchy and government, were sentenced to pay 5000*l.* each to the king, to stand in the pillory, to have their ears cut off, and *Prynne* that part of his ears which were left.

Mr. *John Lilbourn* for writing in Mr. *Prynne's* vindication, was condemned by archbishop *Laud* in his star-chamber to be whipt with a treble-knotted cord from the *Fleet* prison to *Westminster-hall*, and had 500 lashes. Afterwards in this deplorable and bloody condition he was obliged to stand in the pillory, and was there gagged for complaining of this cruel and barbarous usage.

Dr. *Leighton* for offending the hierarchy, was sentenced to pay 10,000*l.* to the king, and by two of *Laud's* officers was hurried into a most dismal cell in *Newgate*, there kept almost two days without food, and his effects seized, received when very ill thirty-six stripes with a treble cord, afterwards stood in the pillory all bloody as he was almost two hours in a time of frost and snow, had there one ear cut off, one nostril slit, and one of his cheeks branded with a red hot iron, then carried away to the *Fleet* prison again by water; and that day seven-night the sores on his back, nose, and face not being cured, he was again whipt and pil-

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lored in *Cheapside*, and there had the remainder of the sentence executed, by cutting off the other ear, slitting up the other nostril, and branding the other cheek.

Innumerable were the torments and troubles of the subjects, in the reign of this *pious king*. And wherever the clergy reign, or a bigotted prince, they damn the laity, that is, they make them damned *slaves* or *villains*: and if they drive them to heaven, it is through hell. None sacrifice to *mammon* more devoutly than they. When tyranny is intended to be established, it is the work of mercenary priests to begin the folly against common sense: the better to bubble, bully, and enslave the people, the terrors of damnation are of sacred use: by these they endeavour as much as in them lies, to annul all the laws that secure to the people their rights and properties. Laws cannot possibly be of any service, if they may not be defended, against a powerful robber and perverter of them. Or against a band of men combined to rob the nation of their properties and privileges, which are as much their right, as what the king holds by law is his, because both hold them by the same rightful power, the law of the nation; and therefore subjects have equal right to possess and defend; what the law gives

gives them, as the sovereign has. NOTHING IS MORE SACRED THAN LAW; it is the power of wisdom and goodness, or both, united for a good end, and is called JUSTICE. *It is justice that is law.* Justice is the proper ruling power, not the power of the ruler; for power is given to a ruler, to a political head, for the sake of maintaining justice. To transgress the law, is a criminal thing; it is doing what is not just, and therefore renders the transgressor criminal, and an unjust person, whoever he be; for the law is like God, which is God's law, it is *no respecter of persons*; and the law of nature is the nature of that law. When the political head therefore is become unjust, it is unnatural to the body politic, and offends it; ought not then the gospel precept to be practised, which says, * *If thy right eye, right hand, (or principal member) offend thee, cut it off, and cast it from thee; for it is profitable for thee that one of thy members perish, rather than the whole body*; for desperate diseases must have desperate remedies; though it ought not to be in the power of pope, priest, enthusiast, or any private, particular person, to determine the public particular case; but it resides in the united power of the public body,

* Matthew vi. 29, 30:

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from which the head received its power of being head, for the united good of the body, or the public. For this reason, they confer their power on one person, and vest their authority in him, not for his good in opposition to theirs, but for their own good in conjunction with his. Considering the end and intention of their action, it is a power *lent*, not given; it is their power who are *lenders*, and they are the body who have it in themselves by *natural* right, that is, and that only is *divine*; and he that receives it from them, has it by the same right; but has no right to possess or execute it longer than he rightfully uses it. He that has lost his conduct cannot be a conductor. Of him that perverts what is lent him, to his own use, in prejudice to the lender; certainly the lender has a right to demand the restoration of what he lent, and oblige him to it by force, and foul means, when fair means fail. No law can bind men down *for better for worse till death*, if they are aggrieved, and can find a remedy, no more in political, than in physical cases. No laws of God or nature oblige any person or people to remain miserable if they can be freed from misery, and make themselves happy. To expel or kill a governor, undoubtedly puts a nation into convulsions; but when

when his *life* puts a nation into convulsions, then his expulsion or death is the only remedy. When a disease is bad, the cure is good. If the remedy is worse than the disease, we must seek another ; but some cases admit of but one remedy, one method of cure, and in those cases that must be had, or none. Let the remedy be what it will, it is not the less good because it is public ; nor is justice the less justice, because it is done in a justiciary way.—To extort money from a nation contrary to law, is a national plunder, and public rapine. And we all know what punishment the law pronounces on highway-robbers. Do they who rob a whole nation deserve less punishment than those who rob only single persons ? or ought great criminals to escape with impunity, and little criminals only suffer. Or in desperate cases, *is it not expedient that one man die for the people, that the nation perish not ?*

Mr. Gordon, that Herculean reasoner, in his discourses on *Tacitus**, says, ‘ An absolute prince is of all others the most insecure, as he proceeds by no rule of law, he can have no rule of safety ; he acts by violence, and violence is

* Vol. I. p. 106:

the only remedy against him. His acts of cruelty upon particulars, whether done for revenge or prevention, do but alarm other particulars to save themselves by destroying him.

† It is rare for a prince limited by laws, and content with his power, to reign in sorrow, or die tragically, as it is uncommon for those who have no bounds set them, or will suffer none, to escape a miserable reign and unbloody end.

* The people likewise expect complaisance from a prince, expect to have their sentiments and humours considered; while the prince probably thinks that they have no right to form any judgment of public matters, or to make any demands upon him, but on the contrary requires of them blind reverence and obedience to his authority; and acquiescence in his superior conduct and skill, that all his doings should pass for just; himself for a person altogether sacred and unaccountable; and his words for laws. If their behaviour towards him do not happen to square exactly with these his sovereign notions and high conceit of himself, he will be apt to think, or some officious flatterer will be ready to persuade him, 'his royal au-

thority is set at nought, the people are revolted ; and what remains but they take arms.' To punish therefore their disobedience, he proceeds to violence, and exercises real severity for imaginary guilt. Mischief is prolific ; and violence in him begets resentment in them : The people murmur and exclaim ; the prince is thence provoked, and flies to vengeance ; when one act of vengeance is resented and exposed, as it ever will be, more will follow. Thus things go on ; affection is not only lost, but irrecoverable on either side, hatred is begun on both ; and prince and people consider themselves no longer as magistrate and subject, but one another as enemies.

Mr. Gerdon says thus, of this *royal martyr's* reign, in his *Independent Whig* * : ' Now, if we enquire into the first cause, from which all the rest naturally followed, we shall find that the violence of his reign caused his violent end. It is not to be denied nor disguised, that from the very beginning the court aimed at arbitrary power, openly pursued it, and for fifteen years together practised it, raising money without law, and against law ; which was robbery

* Vol. III. p. 361.

in those who enforced the collection of it : imprisoning men, the best and greatest men, without law, and against law : which was lawless cruelty : seizing the lands and estates of others, without right, and against right ; which was flagrant oppression and violence : assuming and exercising a power to dispense with laws, that is, to make and annul laws, which was manifest usurpation : and, in short, establishing an arbitrary and *Turkish* authority over the persons, and rights, and fortunes of the people, which was apparent and undeniable *tyranny*.’

‘ Between law and violence, between right and tyranny, there is no medium, no more than between justice and oppression. If king *Charles* had no right to act thus, then his acting thus was *tyranny*. If he had a right, of what force are laws and oaths ; and where is our constitution, the boasted rights of *Englishmen* and our ancient *Magna Charta* ? Why was his son king *James* turned out ? why declared to have forfeited ? And I would ask the admirers and defenders of king *Charles* I. how they would have liked, how borne such violences, such lawless doings and misrule in king *William* ? how in the late reign ? how in this ? How

would they have relished the imprisonment of their persons, taxes laid on, and exacted without consent of parliament, arbitrary and excessive fines, their estates seized, their families impoverished or famishing? Doubtless no men would have been louder in the cry of tyranny; and very just and natural would have been such a cry. How do they reconcile such zeal and profession with an approbation of the reign of king *Charles I.* which was one continued series of oppressions, and abolished liberty and law, and established universal slavery?—

‘ Was it not crying guilt in the crown, to abandon its duty, to violate the coronation-oath, to tread upon law and justice, to persecute conscience, to rob and oppress the people, and from limited and lawful to become lawless and arbitrary? And is it not equally reasonable, equally becoming us *Englishmen*, and freemen, to commemorate and detest an administration so pernicious and devouring, measures so black and lawless? Is it not our duty to take warning by them, and whenever we are threatened with them, to guard against them, to watch every principle of slavery, and suppress it betimes; to rejoice that we live in happier

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pier times, live in a *free government*, and under the *free source of the laws*, to pray for the continuance of such an invaluable blessing, and be dutiful and assisting to that **GOOD AND GREAT PRINCE** who secures it to us, and claims nothing to himself, but what our parliaments and known laws give him.—

Seeing we have *now* the *best of kings* to govern us, which is the greatest of all national blessings, let us not grieve that our fathers delivered themselves from *tyranny* by their struggles, and us from the pernicious consequences of it. Have we not more reason to rejoice, that the parliament's army had got the better of the king's, than if the king's army had got the better of the parliament's? for whereas we now lament *one* day in the year, should we not then have lamented *every* day in the year? We might have fought the freedom we now enjoy in *Ameri. a*, we should not have found it in *Britain*. If we were not ungrateful to that God who redeemed us, he would give us *feasting for fasting*, and *the oil of gladness for the spirit of heaviness*, we should thank God for his mercies to us, instead of complaining and repining before him of his judgments to them,
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seeing in the midst of judgment to them be hath remembered mercy to us.

As the lesson for this day is the sufferings of our blessed Lord, and as *Charles's* devotees are fond of making an analogy between them, I shall grant there was some in their *deaths*, though there was none at all in their *lives*; for the one went about doing good with his power, and saving the lives of men; the other went about doing mischief with his army, and destroying men's lives, to defend his power, and maintain his prerogative. But both friends and enemies allow that *he died a good death*. It was a national good that *one man died for the people, and the nation perished not*. In such case therefore, it may be looked on as a kind of propitiatory sacrifice, and his death may be imputed righteousness, which brought temporal redemption to the nation, as the death of *Christ* brought spiritual redemption to the world. As he died a *good man*, we must allow his death was unfortunate and is cause of mourning; but as he died a *bad king* the death of such a one is fortunate, and matter of joy to any people. Thus justly stating both sides of the account, we may set equal reasons of joy against equal cause of sorrow,

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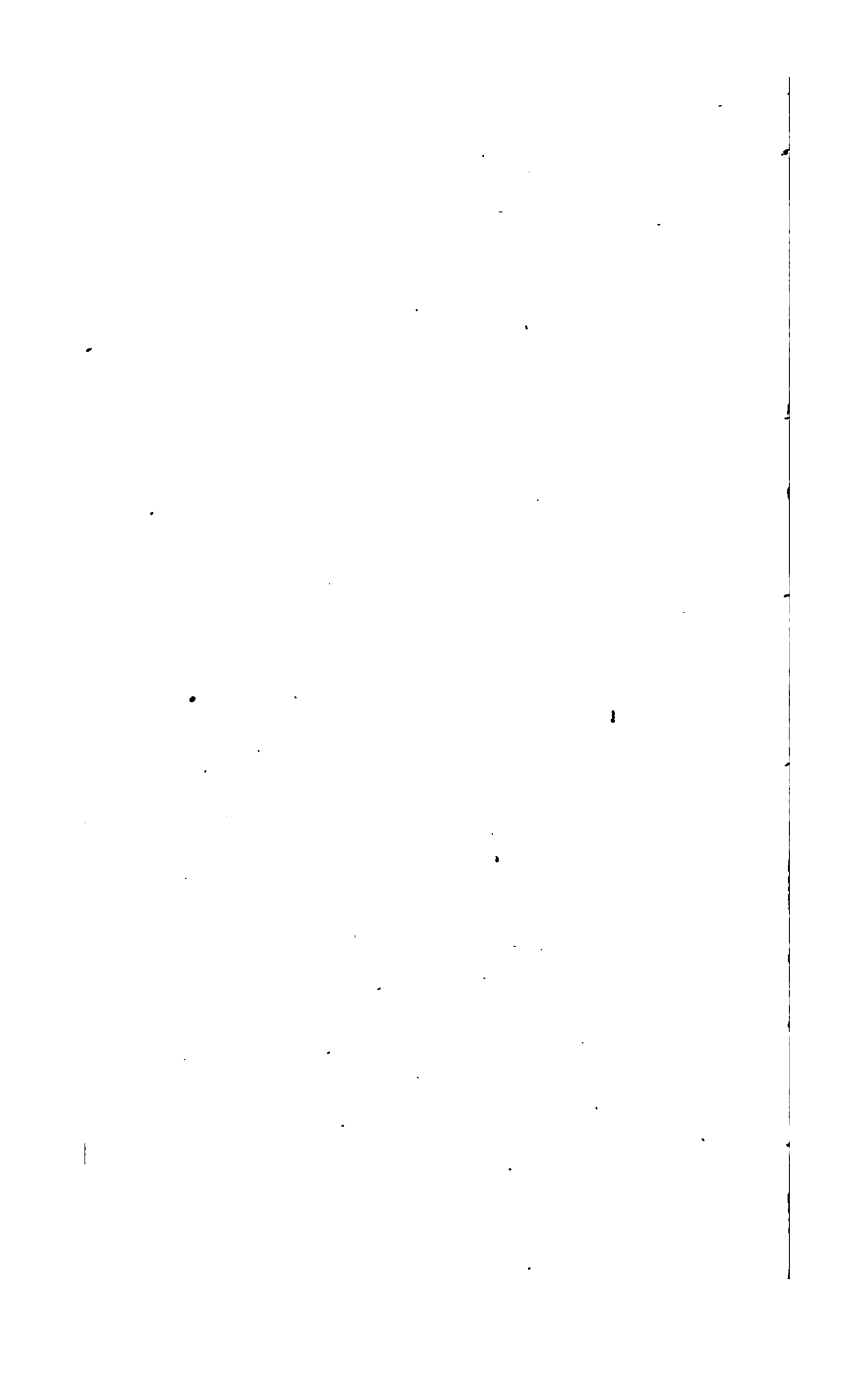
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so cancel each other, and make the balance even. And as our fathers have sent him to his heavenly-father, and have followed him themselves, *Requiescant omnes in pace.* If God is reconciled with them; as we ought in charity to believe, there is a reconciliation between God and his people; therefore we ought to be reconciled with one another †.

† Notwithstanding some grammatical errors in this tract, there is such an honest simplicity of heart, such good meaning, and such worthy sentiments in the whole, that I thought it deserving of preservation. How much better reasoning is found here, than in many sermons preached by great and dignified men before *Lords and Commons*?

END of the THIRD VOLUME.

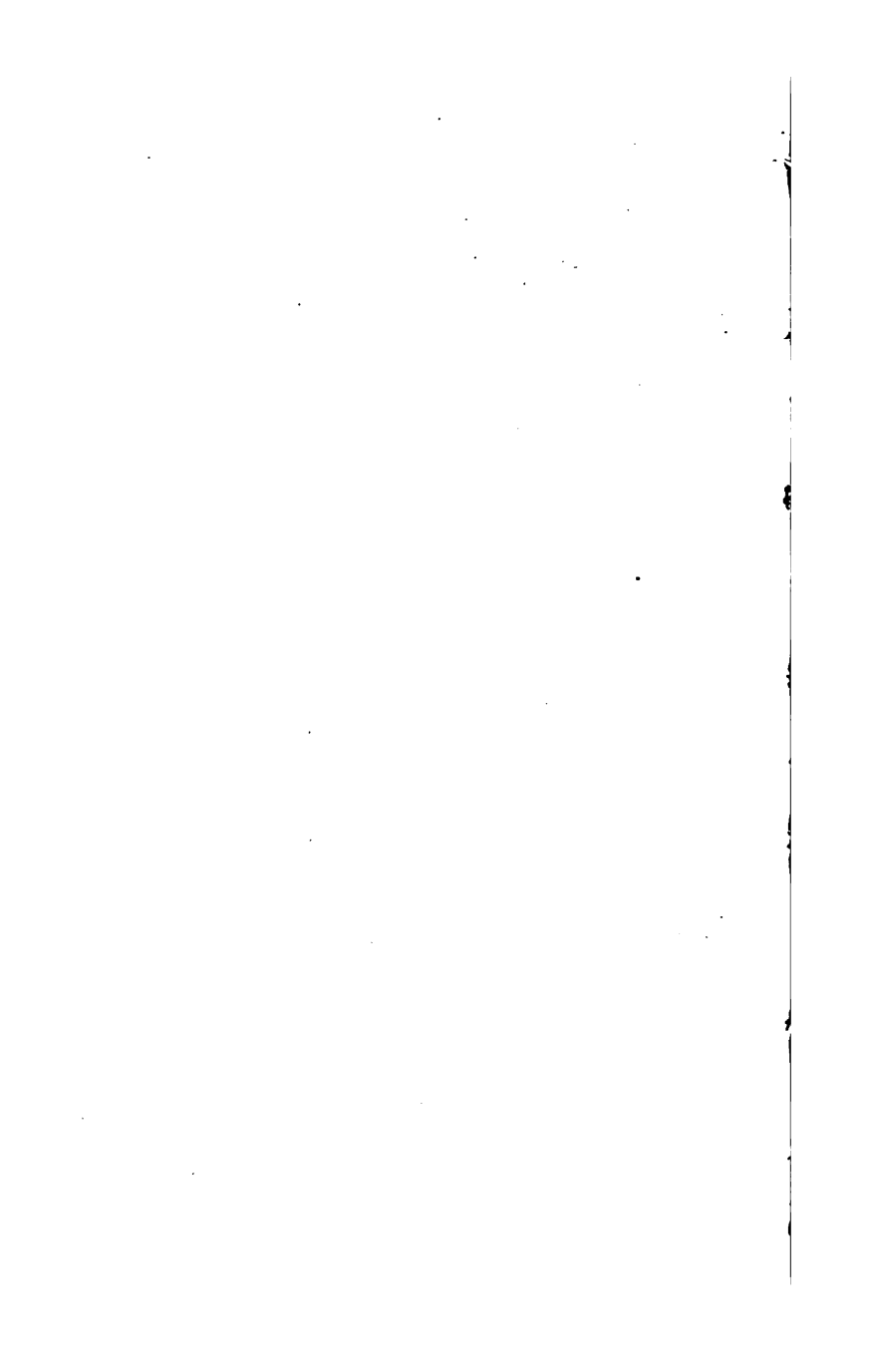


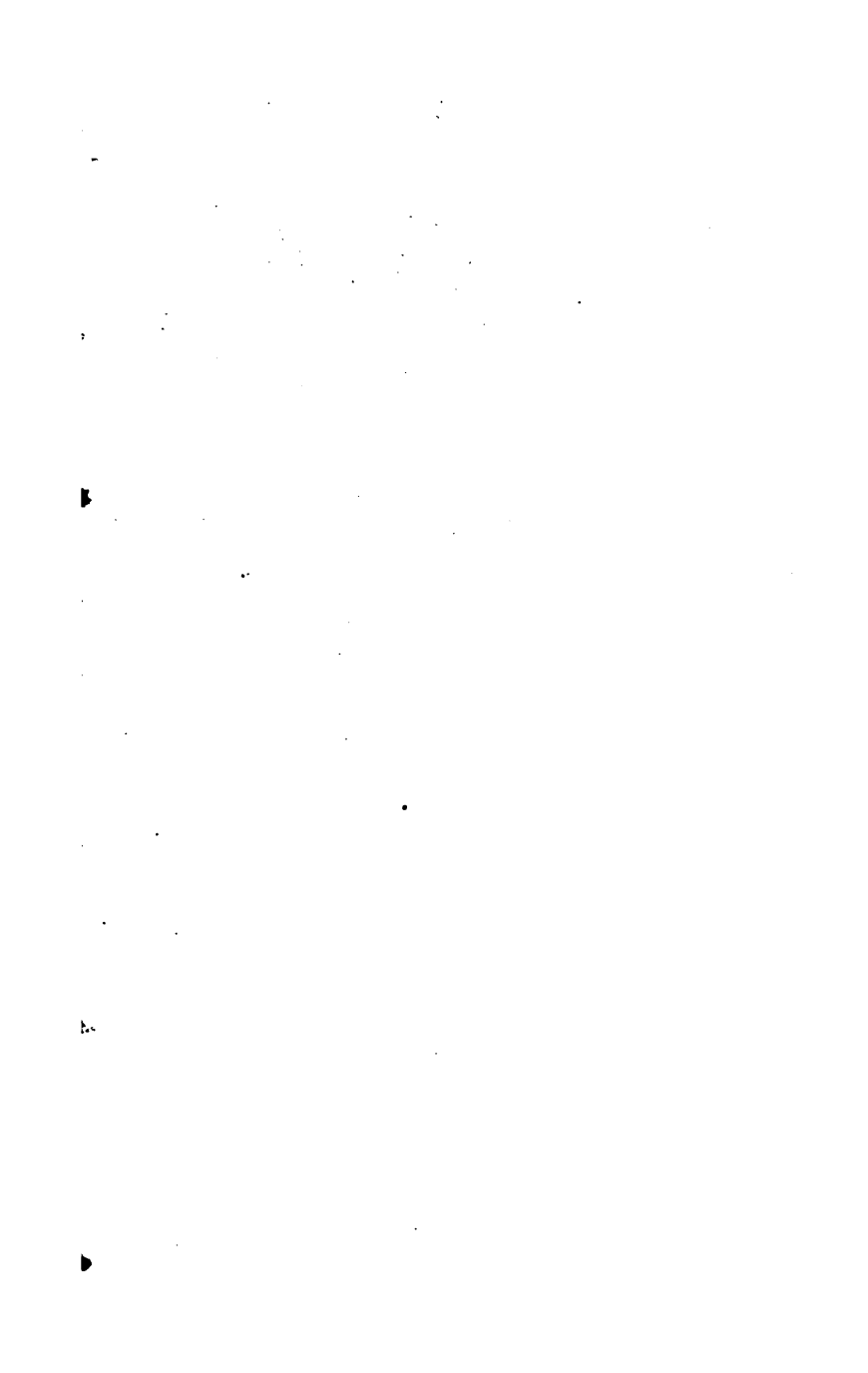


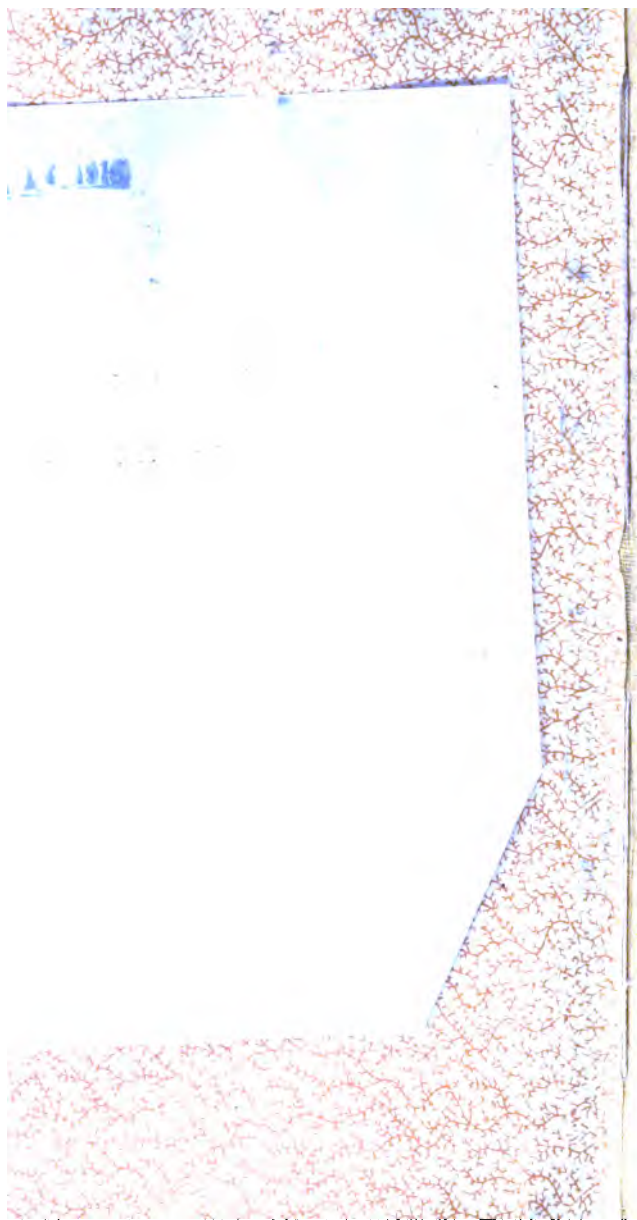
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